



GREEK & ROMAN FESTIVALS

Content, Meaning, & Practice

EDITED BY J. RASMUS BRANDT
& JON W. IDDENG



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J. RASMUS BRANDT and JON W. IDDENG

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Acknowledgements

The present publication collects eleven out of fourteen papers delivered at the international seminar *What Is a Festival?*, 19–21 May 2006, at Rosendal Barony in the Hardangerfjord, south of Bergen, on the western coast of Norway. To this collection has been added a twelfth one by Mary Beard, a reworked version of an article published seventeen years ago in an anthropological book on shamanism and mostly unknown to classical scholars and students alike (see below). The editors regret the long production time due to a series of unforeseen circumstances during the period of collecting and preparing the typescripts. for the printer. The editing of all typescripts, except that of Mary Beard, was finished by spring 2010.

The seminar was born out of the preparations for a cross-disciplinary project *Ancient Festivals*, which aimed to foster and sustain the vulnerable field of Classics in Norway in the wake of the Bologna reform. Though a lack of funding ultimately led to the project being put on ice, it is our sincere hope that the ideas put forward during the project's inception will one day be picked up and brought forward again, as the subject opens up interesting collaborations between archaeologists, historians, philologists, scholars in ancient religions, anthropologists, and sociologists.

This cross-disciplinary collaboration also laid the foundation for the seminar where the participants were asked to review the classical synchronic description of ancient festivals and look at the festivals' origins, as well as their social function and meaning, from both a synchronic and a diachronic point of view. It was also the intention of the organizers to bring in scholars not only from different areas of classical research, but also from different countries, so that various research traditions could be represented. Among the fourteen speakers the following countries were represented: Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK, and the USA.

The seminar was made possible thanks to contributions from the University of Oslo and the foundations *Stiftelsen Thomas Fearnley*, *Heddy og Nils Astrup* and *Sigval Bergesens d.y. og hustru Nanki's almennyttige stiftelse*. We are extremely grateful to all financers and

hope that the present publication can be considered as a small, but visible, token of money well spent.

We should further like to present our special thanks to Professor Emeritus in art history, Per Jonas Nordhagen, from the University of Bergen, who gave the participants an unforgettable tour of Norway's medieval capital on the day of their arrival in Bergen. Furthermore, we are very grateful to the professional and hospitable staff of the Rosendal Barony, who did their utmost to make the participants feel at home. Our thanks are also extended to Stig Oppedal and Alex Chepstow-Lusty, who diligently copy-edited all the papers written by non-native English speakers. For any mistakes which remain the editors take the blame.

A special thanks goes to Mary Beard, Cambridge University. She was originally invited to the seminar, but was not able to come due to other commitments. However, in an attempt to improve the balance between the Greek and the Roman contributions in this publication, she, at short notice, accepted to rework an article previously published by N. Thomas and C. Humphrey (eds.). *Shamanism, History, and the State*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994, 164–90. We are much indebted to both The University of Michigan Press for letting us publish this reworked edition of the article, and to Oxford University Press for accepting it. In the event what we publish here is significantly different from the earlier version, and covers a wider range of topics that address the concerns of this volume.

Sincere thanks go to the staff of Oxford University Press for their professional handling of this publication from our first preliminary request to the final product. These expressions of thanks are also extended to OUP's two anonymous peer-reviewers, who both made very valuable suggestions to improve the quality of the publication. In particular we should like to thank Ms Hilary O'Shea, who, among the many editors we requested, was the one to answer and support this project at an early stage when it was only a castle in the air without any financial foundation.

Last, but not least, we should like to thank all the participants, who all contributed in making the seminar a successful event, in particular to those who had the time and energy to rewrite their papers into what makes up this book. We were very touched by their many expressions of thanks afterwards. One participant even returned home and boasted that he had been to Paradise, and in one way he

was closer to the truth than he could have imagined; on leaving Bergen, heading south towards Rosendal, we actually drove through a village called Paradis.

J. Rasmus Brandt and Jon W. Iddeng

Oslo, June 2011

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations for journals and some encyclopaedias follow the practice of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (http://www.dainst.org/medien/de/richtlinien_abkuerzungen.html#).

For abbreviations of ancient authors and their works, see the system developed by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn.

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Introduction

Some Concepts of Ancient Festivals

J. Rasmus Brandt and Jon W. Iddeng

Festivals were the heartbeat of Greek and Roman society, its social and political organization, and its institutions. They set the rhythm of the year, as laid down in a calendar, and through them divine protection of the public and private spheres was ensured and the populace was joined together in common acts centred on common symbols. Festivals are a common denominator for a wide-ranging series of phenomena that concern a large area of social relationships. In a symbiotic relationship, social and political processes were formed, maintained, altered, and sanctioned through religious celebrations. Even so, festivals are a somewhat understudied subject in Classical scholarship, at least outside the field of ancient religion. The study of religious festivals might significantly expand our insights into understanding the Graeco-Roman world, the social processes it went through and the symbols it used, and thereby highlight the universal as well as the particular in our own culture.

Previous studies that have focused on Graeco-Roman religious festivals have first and foremost been descriptive in an empirical-positivistic sense: the source material has in other words been used to explain *what* was celebrated and *how* it was celebrated, but to a lesser

Part of this introduction owes much to discussions and exchanges of information with Prof. Synnøve des Bouvrie, to whom we are in great debt, in the preparation of the first research proposal on ancient festivals to the Norwegian Research Council (cf. Acknowledgements).

degree *why* a religious festival was celebrated, or, in other terms, what fundamental social function the festival fulfilled.¹ This is largely due to a paradigmatic shift, occurring over the last generation, in the views on Graeco-Roman religion. While Greek and Roman myths (an important source for the origins of festivals) were previously regarded as a kind of original philosophy of nature, the focus was on the world of nature beyond mankind. In more recent studies, mankind has taken centre stage: histories of gods and heroes are now perceived as projections of unconscious social conflicts, and the ritual process is embodied as a part of the social controls, mass mobilizations, and interactions of the given society.²

The descriptive presentations of Graeco-Roman festivals have thereby become far more sophisticated, and the religious celebrations have to a certain extent been liberated from their shroud of incomprehensibility. The last decade has seen quite a few studies focusing on ritual, competitive performance, memory, and poetry in connection with religious celebrations and festivals, particularly in the Greek world.³ Yet there is still much to be done to attach festivals more closely to the historical process from the rise of the Greek city states to the fall of the Roman empire. Our aim with this book is hence to contribute to the further development of a more nuanced and finely delineated picture of the close connections between festivals as religious and social phenomena and the historical dynamics that shaped them in the times of the Greeks and the Romans.

'What was a festival in the Graeco-Roman world?' The book starts by examining the very concept 'festival', but in one way or another, all the present contributors address this basic question. The answers are many and divergent, which is not surprising, since few would disagree with John Scheid's characterization of festivals as 'a ritual system capable of conveying complex meanings'. The ritual system and complex meanings that festivals conveyed are examined at length, as well as their implicit features and historical significance, as the authors try to illuminate the social, political, and ritual functions by examples and theoretical reflections. Instead of a survey of the following articles and their contents, we shall in this short introduction focus on the methodological and theoretical approaches discussed, many of which can be synthesized into a few central dichotomous concepts, which either concord or disagree with each other, while some even overlap.

SYNCHRONIC-DIACHRONIC

The question of the nature of ancient festivals certainly requires a *synchronic* approach. By this is intended the study of the physical and mental premises for the creation of festivals, their political and social setting, the ritual processes and symbols, the way they were maintained, and what the participants did or did not do compared and contrasted with other similar celebrations. This gives us the opportunity to group and categorize festivals, extract common and significant features, whether of a political, social, or religious kind. A synchronic approach has therefore been adopted by some of the contributors (Bouvrie, Brandt, Burkert, Iddeng). In the older descriptive literature on festivals, on the other hand, the synchronic view seems to have been too dominant, as if the festivals were static and barely changeable; the written sources were 'combined with little consideration of distinctions in time and purpose', as Ekroth puts it in her paper. Consequently, changes over time, and how and why they occurred, were concealed. However, festivals were part and parcel of a community's political and social system and its changes. In this publication a *diachronic* point of view is hence more prominent, in order to achieve a better understanding of the complex dynamics governing the collective religious celebrations and their development over time. This is evident whether the study is of a singular festival (Ekroth, Neils, Smith, Beard), a place of festive and ritual activity (Scheid), a particular feature common to many festivals (Scullion), or the society's festival programme as a whole (Buraselis, Rüpke). Such approaches give the authors the opportunity to reflect on why changes occurred and how they were related to the development of the society at large, and what that teaches us about celebrating festivals. We believe that this book largely benefits from juxtaposing the synchronic and the diachronic approaches.

CONTENT-FORM

Every festival has a *content* expressed through one or more myths and/or *aitia*. The content conserves the cultural memory or meaning of the festival and manifests itself in various *forms* or practices made visible in different modes and ways through the ritual acts and

performances. When describing and discussing ancient festivals the focus is most often on form, as also in this publication, whether the festivals are discussed in general (Iddeng, Burkert, Scullion, Buraselis, Scheid, Rüpke), or singly (Bouvrie, Ekroth, Brandt, Neils, Smith, Beard). The distinction between the two concepts is important in that the form may change without change in the content, but if the content changes, so also will the form (Brandt). The form can change for many reasons, both political and social, but it can also be manipulated to attract attention and publicity (Rüpke). But what does the form express? The character of the deity celebrated,⁴ or is it connected to the social function of the festival? Through a better understanding of the internal connections between the concepts' content and form we may be able to achieve a more comprehensive view of the social significance of a festival and of the processes behind its formation and its changes.

Form is a collective term for the *ritual processes*, the sum of all institutionalized acts connected to religious festivals and their sequences, such as torch races, games, dances, theatrical shows, processions, sacrifices, 'holy journeys', banquets, etc. These kinds of *performances* (playing on both the individual and the collective level) are the structure, or the sensory stimulation of the festivals, and are examined throughout this book. Through the performances, power relations are manifested, popular feelings are modulated, the behaviour of the participants is orchestrated, different types of 'liminality' are expressed, and so on. Within this structure, the performers and spectators (and among the spectators themselves) are involved in ongoing *communication* by way of symbols of identity and meaning.⁵ Festivals are indeed orchestrated cultural performances (Bouvrie), yet some festivals appear to be more centred on performances, whereas others are more concerned with liturgy, such as old Roman state cults (Beard).

Symbols are the 'signs' connected to the ritual acts (in the shape of words, movements and artefacts). Symbols and symbolic acts within the rituals are used to constitute a group as a unity with common values and aims, to create and consolidate loyalty and self-defence, and by connecting the rites to divine powers and cosmos these values and aims become legitimate and rightful. Rituals, therefore, give shape to power, but at the same time can be said to construct power (Iddeng, Neils, Buraselis, Rüpke). Symbols, on the denotative level, can be easily understood by all, but on the connotative level be hidden

and reserved for the initiated. The written sources can tell the significance of a symbol at a given time, while studies of the material sources provide insights into the change of the symbols over time (Brandt). By leaning too much on what the ancient written sources tell about the aims and meanings of the festivals, we may overlook that people also can do things which serve something different from what they appear to be.

SACRED–SECULAR

Was a festival in ancient times a true religious celebration and a way of communicating with the gods? Or were the gods more of a pretext for social festivity and political demonstration? The polarity *sacred* versus *secular* imposes itself on our subject matter in different ways. There seems to have occurred a secularization of several Archaic state festivals in Classical Greek times (Scullion) and changes in form are easily connected to social or political needs (Neils). Even so, archaeological evidence suggests an ongoing and meticulous care for divine consultation and the sacred rites (Brandt, Ekroth). Much the same can be said about Roman festivals; changes in the way they were celebrated and the introduction of new elements or cults can be connected to the political and social transformation of Rome, yet apparently with great reverence to the deities and rites (Smith, Rüpke, Beard). Spectacles, fairs, and entertainment were fundamental to most festivals, but did not diminish godly devotion—on the contrary, merrymaking could strengthen and increase religious zeal by lifting the occasion out of everyday life (Burkert, Bouvrie).

Based on the present studies we can maintain that neglect or oblivion towards certain old cults and celebrations, changes in form or even content of others, and the introduction of new cults and festivals is not an apparent sign of secularism or religious pretence. The introduction of ruler-cults and their festivals in Hellenistic Greece and Imperial Rome, however, instinctively challenge our conception of something truly sacred and religious, and stretch our idea of sacred celebrations (Iddeng, Buraselis). Even so, ruler-cult festivals were also about showing veneration and performing *do-ut-des* acts towards something larger than (ordinary) life. As pointed out by Burkert, ‘the main ritual for getting in contact with the “sacred” is

offering and sacrifice'. Beyond this it appears difficult, maybe even futile, to distinguish between the sacred and secular in an ancient festival context; at best one may talk about degrees of sacredness and secularity (Iddeng, Bouvrie, Scullion).

MEMORY-IDENTITY

The content preserves the *memory* of a festival. Memory, being both an individual and a cultural factor, creates *identity* and is expressed through words and common acts, which can be *including* or *excluding*. Memory shapes the performances and gives arguments to the communicative part of the celebrations. A mapping of which components were connected to memory and identity and to which degree they were manipulated over time to strengthen and weaken feelings of memory and identity is essential in order to reach a more thorough understanding of the content and form of the festivals.⁶ The person(s) who controlled and administered memory (confirmed through the calendar, which defined the cyclical framework of the year) could moreover put down the premises for the power hierarchy of the society and for the social processes (Iddeng, Neils, Buraselis). The problem does not only regard the influence of the society on the festival, but also which role the religious festivals played in the development of different forms of society, in the conservation of status quo, in social processes of change, in the development of the power structure, or in subversive movements.⁷ Even though festivals were extraordinary events, they were in essence conservative and preserving, the main religious purpose being to maintain *pax deorum* and the support of the gods, and in doing so also to keep up the social and political order of the celebrating community. In a period without mass media memory, the performances and rituals of the festivals played an important role in forming the identity of the population, in power negotiations and in the handling of conflicts.

Memory and identity are moreover connected to place, but a place can be used by more than one deity (Scheid), by more than one ethnic group (Burkert), and a place endowed with memory could attract new deities to give them legitimacy (Ekroth, Beard). Identity is related to the type of festival, in which context it was carried out, and to whom it was addressed, whether it was shaped by residence, social status,

occupation, gender, initiation, and so on. The common identity and the exclusiveness of a festival did vary according to whether the festival was celebrated on a local, a regional, or an inter-regional level, every level with its own geographic impact area. Already in the formation process such *including* and *excluding* (or *incorporating* and *rejecting*) procedures connected to the collective memory and the question of identity were laid down (Iddeng, Ekroth, Scheid, Smith, Beard). There is also a clear degree of exclusiveness within festivals, according to who performed the rituals, walked in processions, ate the sacrificial meat, or was merely a spectator. However, the controls can be adjusted over time so that earlier excluded groups can be included, as a consequence of social tensions and processes (Beard), or of encroachments ad hoc executed by political institutions or rulers (Buraselis). In most cases such adjustments and changes affected the form more than the content of the festival.

INDIVIDUAL–COLLECTIVE

As indicated above, religious festivals operated on two levels through the participation and experience of the *individual* (the spectators) and the staging made by the *collective* (the performers). This individual–collective dichotomy, best seen and interpreted through written sources, regards also the central element of the festivals, as revealed through artefacts and images: objects used for the sacrificial acts belong to the community, while the offering of votives, often confirmed through inscriptions, is a personal expression belonging to the individual (Brandt, Ekroth, Neils). However, the surviving testimonies of the religious festivals, whether preserved for us in written, pictorial, or artefact form, whether they were the results of conscious acts or not, whether they were an expression of the individual or of the collective, will notwithstanding always be a reflection of the needs, the acceptance, and the support of the collective. An important goal of all festivals was, as indicated by Burkert, to create prescribed sentiments and fascinations, pleasure and merrymaking, joy and relaxation, bringing the individual in a collective context ‘the epiphany of the divine in an experience of full happiness (*eudaimonia*)’. This was achieved through the ritual procedures and performances.

The individual–collective dichotomous set of concepts, however, must not be mistaken for or be equalled with another set: *private/domestic* and *public*, which normally distinguishes between festivals celebrated in the private sphere, often within the context of house, family, and household, and those celebrated by the whole or part of the community in a setting away from the private house and sphere (Iddeng). Since all festivals discussed in this publication are considered public, there has been no need to make a private–public distinction.

In the presentation above of a series of dichotomous concepts we have tried to summarize some of the important aspects of Greek and Roman festivals discussed in the present publication. These concepts give a clear signal in what way the paradigmatic shift in the study of Graeco-Roman religion has altered our views on ancient festivals, both with regard to their content, meaning, and performed practices. So if the contributions in this publication can stimulate new discussions on ancient festivals, the efforts of the authors and editors in producing this book will have been well rewarded.

NOTES

1. See Farnell (1896–1909); Mommsen (1898); Fowler (1899); Nilsson (1906); Deubner (1932); Pickard-Cambridge (1953); Parke (1977); Sculard (1981); Simon (1983); Robertson (1992).
2. Ground-breaking studies being Burkert (1972); Vernant (1974); Vidal-Naquet (1981); Versnel (1993). See also Baudy (1992), 1–5.
3. E.g. Raschke (2002); Phillips and Pritchard (2003); Bell and Davies (2004); Wilson (2007); Kowalzig (2007); Hornblower and Morgan (2007); Rüpke (2008); Beck and Wiemer (2009); and most recently Sourvinou-Inwood (2011).
4. As suggested e.g. by Robertson (1985), 233–40.
5. See e.g. Turner and Turner (1982); MacAloon (1984).
6. On this see e.g. Halbwachs (1950); Alcock (2002).
7. As discussed by Lincoln (1989); Bourdieu (1992).

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What is a Graeco-Roman Festival?

A Polythetic Approach

Jon W. Iddeng

Ask a number of Classical scholars what constitutes a festival, and you are likely to get quite different answers and probably also cause some puzzlement, deliberation or downright reluctance to reply.¹ The term festival appears to have a rather loose or wide-ranging meaning to most of us and still we all know roughly what it is about. But to be more specific, what do we mean when speaking about a Greek or Roman festival? Many European languages have their own version of the word 'festival'—such as *feest*, *Fest*, *festa*, *fiesta*, *fête*—all with slightly different content, which can in itself be an obstacle to pinpointing an exact meaning.² Would the possible answer be different if the question was put forward as 'Che cosa è una festa?', or 'Was ist ein Fest'? In both Italian and German the key word can signify a single party or celebration of some kind, whereas the English 'festival' does not signify in the same way a singular event such as a birthday party. This paper poses the question in English, hoping that it will be rather comprehensible in this Graeco-Roman context.

DEFINING, CATEGORIZING, CONCEPTUALIZING

Some key concepts or terms must have a commonly accepted meaning or denotation if communication about related phenomena is to be fruitful. In order to study 'literacy', 'imperialism', 'patronage', 'city

state', or 'Romanization', most Classical scholars would agree that our way of defining or understanding the given concept must be accounted for. In a book devoted to ancient festivals, 'festival' is such a key concept that should be made a *definiendum*. No study of ancient festivals or general book on Greek or Roman religion, that I have come across, comprehensively defines 'festival' or discusses its features.³ Such a peculiarity—if not merely due to my ignorance—should offer not only a justification for addressing the question, but perhaps also a warning that the need for a definition has not been pressing. Nevertheless, by discussing different features of what constitutes a festival, I believe we can sharpen our understanding and interpretive capability, and some studies may even benefit from using a definition or characterization as an analytical tool.

Where do we begin? Can we distinguish different types or categories of festivals and describe them independently? None of the monographs on Greek or Roman festivals seem to categorize or classify festivals according to types; rather, they organize them according to the calendar,⁴ or the deity in question.⁵ Still, festivals can obviously be grouped or categorized in several ways depending on the purpose of the study. One way would be according to range or size, from the small festivals of a local community or deme, to the larger state (polis) festivals, on to regional or more or less all-inclusive (such as the Panhellenic ones). Yet, we know too little about the scale or number of participants in most festivals to make such a grouping analytically meaningful. Moreover, a number of festivals were expanded either on fixed intervals (*penteterides*) or on special occasions and included a much broader spectrum of participants, such as during the Great Panathenaia. In Hellenistic times, some local festivals were even transformed into Panhellenic festivals, such as the Leucophryeneia in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.⁶

Another way of categorizing could be according to the religious setting, ritual type, or gender. To a certain extent, festivals can be labelled agricultural, commemorative, or gender-oriented; they may be specified as connected to initiation, transformation, or cleansing; the festivals with agonistic elements could be grouped, so could all those involving fertility rituals, and so on.⁷ Attempts to group festivals accordingly might serve a purpose for some studies, but such categories are not mutually exclusive or very informative per se and will thus for most studies not be precise analytical tools.

Years ago scholars were preoccupied with the origin and dating of religious celebrations, and hence another way of classifying festivals could be according to age or origin, such as Archaic/pre-urban, Classical/urban, Hellenistic/Imperial. Our present-day knowledge of the ongoing transformation of civic and religious celebrations, as well as the obvious lack of firm evidence for dating the ancient festivals, however, leads to a dead end.

Finally, there are the Greek and Roman terms for celebrations or festivals: *heortai*, *eranoi*, *panegyreis*, *synodoi*, *agones*, *dies festi*, *ludi*, and *feriae*.⁸ But these are not equivalent, mutually exclusive, or hard-and-fast categories; these words are used intermixed, sometimes as synonyms, and often without rendering any precise category. Moreover, in order to have a scholarly value, a concept needs to be determined for *our* purpose and usage, not the ancients'.

In sum, it seems there is no obvious or natural way of categorizing Graeco-Roman festivals, at least not any that will fulfil a need for analytical categories. Consequently, there should be no barrier against seeking a cohesive definition or conceptualization of a festival as such.

A festival is not merely *any* celebration, sacrifice or ceremony—so far we all agree. But what then constitutes a festival, what distinguishes it from other religious acts and festivities? In order to be a meaningful tool, a definition should be relatively open and elastic, that is wide-ranging enough to comprise all important aspects, yet not so wide that it ends up including all possible celebrations such as a wedding, the death of somebody's odious mother-in-law, or three Syrian merchants meeting in Trastevere in Rome to sacrifice a goat to their patron god. What we need is evidently not a clear-cut, monothetic definition (defined in terms of characteristics that are both necessary and sufficient in order to identify members of that class), which ends up excluding celebrations that many scholars would regard as festivals, thus leading to endless discussions of criteria. A polythetic approach seems more prosperous, one in which a category or class is defined in terms of a broad set of criteria that are neither necessary nor sufficient, but with a certain number of defining characteristics, where none of the features has to be found in each member of the category. The polythetic approach that I will consider in this paper is inspired by Benson Saler's *Conceptualizing Religion* (1993). Saler treats several ways of conceptualizing religion, from monothetic to multi-factorial approaches, and insists on viewing religion as an analytical category. His discussion of polythetic

approaches relates to Wittgenstein's theory of family resemblance, principles of taxonomy in the biological sciences, and theories of basic-level categories and prototype definitions. 'Festival' is certainly much less complex a concept than 'religion', even though they are vaguely related, and I shall not try to transfer Saler's conclusions as to how to conceptualize religion, rather I will extract and simplify some points inspired by his thorough discussion.

First, we must identify certain phenomena or features common to Graeco-Roman festivals, where we assert that no single feature is *essential* to group membership, nor is any single feature *sufficient* for group membership. Even though *altar*, *procession*, and *divinity* may be typical ingredients in Graeco-Roman festivals, they are hardly comparable, and we shall have to organize phenomena or features in groups (distinguishing between components, forms, and types), and discuss them according to certain questions or topics. Events or celebrations comprising all features can be viewed as *prototype* festivals, whereas those with only a few will have to be considered borderline cases (yet without clear-cut boundaries). However, not all features in such a polythetic approach are equally important, and we need to address also the question of centrality. There are several ways of determining importance—from statistical occurrence in a sampled group, to a scholarly judgement of substance (considering some features more essential than others). Since for our purpose there is nothing to be gained by determining model features or characteristics unrelated to what are commonly recognized as ancient festivals, our point of departure will have to be the major emblematic exemplars, i.e. the large and well-known festivals such as the Panathenaia and City Dionysia of Athens, the Daphnephoria in Thebes, the Spartan Hyacinthia, the Ludi Romani and Saturnalia of the Romans, and the Panhellenic festivals of Olympia and Delphi. These were important and set the framework also for many other festivals to come, and they are certainly central to our understanding of ancient festivals and can hence be reckoned as typical or *archetypal* festivals. We will expect them to comprise most essential festival features and be close to a prototype, which others would have to be measured against. Considering their size and magnitude, however, they are rather atypical; an average festival was certainly smaller and less momentous than these. Did the smaller festivals by and large also focus on other aspects and emphasize different features than the major ones? To get a more complete picture, we must consider and

give weight also to a range of other smaller festivals of the Greek and Roman world in order to identify and discuss the most essential features. In determining what was central to ancient festivals, we will therefore have to combine a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. Obviously, this cannot be conducted in full in a short initial paper; a more thorough comparative study of all recorded celebrations in ancient calendars would be needed. What I am going to present in the following are accordingly presumptions rather than hard-and-fast results.

I start the quest to identify significant features or aspects with the most clear-cut definition of ancient festivals I have come across. In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn.), Jon D. Mikalson says the following about Greek festivals (1996: p. 593):

Greek festivals were religious rituals recurring, usually every year, two years, or four years, at fixed times in the calendar. Unlike sacrifices and other rituals performed for specific occasions (e.g. marriage) or in times of crisis, they were intended, in general terms, to maintain or renew the desired relationship with supernatural powers . . . Festivals proper (*heortai*) should be distinguished from annual sacrifices (*thysiai*), however large, and the many other rituals that together formed the religious calendar . . . But heortology has traditionally investigated the dating and description of all calendrically recurring rituals, and that is the sense in which 'festival' is usually understood in Classical scholarship.

Mikalson does not address Roman festivals, but I assume that we can adapt this description also to fit them.⁹ It is a good point of departure for further discussion, as it focuses on some important matters regarding festivals: time, ritual practice, recipient of worship, and purpose.

FESTIVAL FEATURES

Time and cycles: the calendar

'As the sanctuary articulates space, so the festival articulates time,' Walter Burkert states.¹⁰ A festival is connected to time in one sense or another. The major ancient festivals that spring to mind all seem to fit in with Mikalson's definition as a recurring event, fixed in a calendar, recurring annually, every second or fourth year. Some celebrations

occur even less frequently, however, such as the Great Daidala in Boeotia and the Roman *ludi saeculares*.¹¹ Still, they are few and connected to time cycles and should not cause any complications. Religious calendars were kept in order to keep track of the festival year in antiquity—although they did not record festivals per se, but official sacrifices—and thus we may consider a calendar entry (or a state of recurring at some other more or less fixed time) as a highly essential feature.¹² This is certainly in accordance with the major archetypal festivals and also many minor festivals, known to us precisely because they *were* recorded in an ancient calendar. A few Greek festivals were celebrated only when particular signs or incidents occurred, for instance the Athenian Pythais.¹³ Such celebrations were recurring, but not according to a calendar or fixed time cycle, and may thus be more problematic.

The Romans organized their days of festivity slightly differently than the Greeks, and of the public holidays (*feriae publicae*)—the *feriae stativae*, the *feriae conceptivae*, and the *feriae imperativae*—only the *feriae stativae* were fixed in the calendar.¹⁴ The *feriae conceptivae* were held each year, but not on fixed days, and the timing was for the magistrates or priests to decide (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.16). The grand *feriae Latinae* are included among the *conceptivae*; arguably, they were still recurring each year, even if not on an exact date. The *feriae imperativae*, however, were held solely ad hoc in certain emergencies, at the command of a magistrate with *imperium*, and not related to time cycles.

If we follow Mikalson and nonetheless consider ‘cyclic or fixed in calendar’ as an essential feature of ancient festivals, all ad hoc celebrations fall short. Celebrations of state achievements, such as victories of war, and ruler or elite celebrations connected to events and anniversaries (birthdays, accession to power, weddings and funerals) will not comply with this characteristic, unless they were established as recurring memorials. The Roman triumph was a recurring event, but yet not in a cyclic sense, and on every occasion a unique accomplishment was celebrated.¹⁵ Ad hoc celebrations lack a typical festival feature: regular recurrence.

To take place: location

A festival is something that takes place, and it does so with a gathering of people somewhere at a set location. Today many would consider a

Christmas service as being at the heart of the festival season, yet nobody would consider a family dinner on Boxing Day to be a festival. Arguably, Christian holidays can be celebrated anywhere. What about the proper Graeco-Roman festival, was it conversely always bound to a strict location?

The major ancient cults were located at a sacred place or particular sanctuary of some sort, and fundamental cult activities of the festival took place there, usually with an altar as one focal point. Looking at our major archetypal festivals, it is evident that they took place at the same location every time. Obviously, a festival may include movement from one place to another, such as the Great Brauronia which started in Athens and finished in Brauron,¹⁶ and some festivals were celebrated both in the urban centre as well as locally, as appears to be the case for the Athenian Scira.¹⁷ Rituals may, of course, also change as in the pathway of processions and so on, and damaged temples or shrines may be rebuilt at new locations. But was the location of such importance that members of the community could not celebrate a certain festival if not present at this place? The Spartans of 480 BC had to celebrate their Carneia in Laconia before they could leave for the battle of Thermopylae. Celebrating on the road was not an option, even though Carneia were celebrated by Dorians throughout the Greek world.¹⁸ Yet that and similar events in Greek history can perhaps be given political explanations as well. What about ordinary citizens travelling or temporarily settling abroad, would they observe the religious calendar of their own deme or polis and celebrate festival days accordingly? We have scarce information of such practices, but Callimachus has an Athenian celebrating *his* Athenian Anthesteria in Alexandria (Fr. 178 Pfeiffer). Parker (1994) has furthermore pointed out a peculiar nature of Athenian colonies, namely their cleruchies and the fact that they maintained contact with the cults at Athens. Yet it seems quite clear that unlike the religious holidays of the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim calendars, the Graeco-Roman festivals were principally celebrated at a single predetermined location.

However, some festivals may not strictly adhere to this characteristic, such as the widespread Thargelia with its peculiar scapegoat ritual.¹⁹ The Thesmophoria, to pick another, was celebrated quite similarly by women throughout Greece.²⁰ It had a local Demeter sanctuary as the focal point, nevertheless, and was apparently celebrated independently at every location. The Ionian Alexandria of Hellenistic times is recorded as a moveable festival. Furthermore, we

may question how important a certain locality was for the celebration of some of the mysteries, such as the one for Isis that Apuleius' hero Lucius experienced in Corinth (*Met.* 11). Finally, there are also major festivals that deviate from the idea of a strictly location-bound celebration, such as the 'archetype' Saturnalia. It had its core in the Forum Romanum, where the ceremony started with a great sacrifice at the Temple of Saturnus on the seventeenth of December, followed by an open banquet.²¹ But detached from these public urban celebrations, the Saturnalia apparently took place with all sorts of merry-making, both in private and throughout Roman territory, without a sacred focal place.²²

When the city states were incorporated into larger empires under Hellenistic monarchs or the Romans, ruler-cult observance and centralized calendars were imposed. This may have challenged the perceived need for a foundation in a local sacred place. Celebrating Rome, the Roman people, and members of the imperial family in particular, was undertaken throughout the Roman empire, with the stimulus for these events often presented as coming from 'below'.²³ These imperial holidays were arguably also bound to a certain locality, however, since they comprise ceremonies, games, and sacrifices at particular sites, such as can be viewed in the regulations of the Gytheum inscription (*SEG* 11.923). To what extent they were truly tied to a sacred place can always be contested, but the many altars and shrines consecrated to imperial cults make it obvious that they usually had a clear focal point.

What about the old Roman festivals—did they spread from their old urban setting as the Romans expanded? All the twenty-two prevailing calendars of Early Imperial times from outside Rome are synchronized on the Roman religious calendar, leaving almost no trace of local celebrations or pre-Imperial religious timekeeping.²⁴ If local festivals were substituted for imitations of Roman festivals, this means that the original cult places were unimportant. But as Jörg Rüpke argues, these *fasti* were probably erected mainly to keep track of the Roman Imperial calendar and were not concerned with local religious practices. The inclusion of the Septimontium (a celebration of the Seven Hills of Rome) in Italian calendars and as a school holiday in Tertullian's Carthage (*De idolatria* 10.3) suggests that such a holiday, of importance to the Roman state and order, did not need a local foundation to be observed.²⁵ In his contribution to this publication, Jörg Rüpke stresses that many festivals are characterized

by 'decentralized commemoration' during the Roman Empire. There is also the 'military' calendar (*feriale*) from Dura Europus (c. AD 225), which record many imperial anniversaries and three of the 'ordinary' Roman festivals, the Quinquatria, Vestalia and Neptunalia.²⁶ A celebration of these in a Mesopotamian garrison suggests that a Roman setting was far from necessary. We may, however, question whether a proper festival was indeed celebrated throughout the Roman empire, even if a holiday was marked on the calendar.

In Roman Imperial times, many days, marked on official calendars for observance or celebrations, seemingly tended to be less dependent on any site or proximate myth than in the realm of the city state. Nevertheless, as the great majority of all recorded festivals were place-bound, it seems reasonable to include ritual activities at a particular location or sacred place as an essential feature, at least for the festivals of Classical Greece and the Roman Republic.

A public event: *communitas*

A typical festival, then, *takes place* largely within the city's public space or connected to a sanctuary outside the urban limits. Festivals are certainly closely connected to social institutions and phenomena. The major archetypal festivals were marked out as periods for gathering and festivity, with spin-offs such as fairs and marketplaces.²⁷ A festival was a public, inclusive event—inclusive at least for the community; indeed, it was a visible manifestation of, for, or within a community, which was often made up of the inhabitants of a polis/*civitas*, or more specifically, its citizen body. It could be more exclusive (deme/tribe) or less exclusive (regional, Panhellenic—the *panegyris* proper) depending on the given celebration. Not everybody was invited to participate in all parts of the ritual, that is clear, yet most religious celebrations were at least partly open to male citizens. There were some festivals, though, that were solely for women, such as the widespread Greek Thesmophoria and the Roman celebrations of Bona Dea.²⁸ We also have records of celebrations conducted mainly by foreigners, metics, freedmen, or other people of low legal status, such as the Bendidia at Piraeus and several ruler-cult celebrations in Hellenistic and Roman times. Celebrations of this kind could still be conducted openly in the public space and not restricted to any distinct social group.²⁹

A calendar entry would indicate a public celebration.³⁰ Yet the Roman distinction between *sacra privata* and *sacra publica*, if Festus can be trusted (284L²), seems to disappear in the celebration of certain festivals. There are calendar entries of official cults for which we have no account of as public celebrations, only as private rituals. This is the case for the Lemuria, for which we only have Ovid's description (*Fasti* 5.419–92) of solely private/domestic ceremonies. We can only assume that there was some kind of official cult activity as well, but as with several other calendar entries, we have no evidence to confirm that this was a public celebration at a specific location. A few Roman festivals were clearly celebrated both in public and private, such as the Compitalia and the Saturnalia mentioned above, and they were labelled *sacra popularia* by Festus (298 L²).

The Roman *feriae privatae* (and Greek counterparts), on the other hand, were family anniversaries or celebrations, not recorded in official calendars.³¹ Yet, for some of the larger families, these could take the form of a great public spectacle, including many other festival features. Marriages, funerals and the *feriae denicales* of the *nobiles* could be even bigger events, but, of course, not recurring at a fixed time in the calendar. Celebrations like these precede the later Imperial ones. Yet the ruler-cult and imperial celebrations were clearly more official, as the ruler personified the state and carried its political authority.

However, numerous annual celebrations were for the initiated only. It was vital for most mystery celebrations (*teletai*) that large parts of the ritual or ceremony were performed in secrecy, for the initiated only. Still, one can argue that for instance the annual celebration of the Great Mysteries in Eleusis was a public event, concerning the whole of Athens. The procession of the *mystai* and a variety of performances would be visible to the public, even if the key ritual was performed in concealment.³²

Many of the smaller and more private celebrations would not have the character of a public event, however, such as the activities of Hellenistic private associations and Roman *collegia*.³³ The Roman Bacchanalia, quite a large celebration according to our sources and one which included Roman aristocracy, was conducted solely in private and in such a way that it was prohibited in 186 BC, with severe punishments for the convicted celebrants; it was definitely not a public event, but still with many characteristics of a festival. The official quadrennial games, Agon Capitolinus, which the emperor

Domitian instigated in honour of Jupiter in AD 86, would surely qualify as a festival, but what about the private annual games in honour of his favourite Minerva, probably held at his Alban villa? And what about offerings and festivities within, say, the *collegium* of *stuppatores* at Ostia?

This is indeed a matter of opinion, where we cannot reach a definite conclusion. Our archetypal festivals were singled out precisely because they were large and public, and a quantitative approach will depend on what types of celebrations are included. Few scholars will hesitate to speak of privately initiated or arranged festivals, but as a dinner party is not a festival by anybody's standard, there must be a line somewhere between a private gathering and a proper festival, and between what concerns the few and the many. A celebration held in private surroundings for an exclusive group and not attached to the community at large is, in my impression, not a festival. I thus wish to maintain that the Graeco-Roman festival was typically a public event that concerned a large number of people.³⁴ Private or exclusive celebrations, not included in an official calendar or otherwise given a stamp of communal authority, accordingly fall short. Hence an ancient festival took place in a public space. We may go on to look more closely at what was *taking place* and whether there were ritual features which were so common that they can be described as distinctive to Graeco-Roman festivals.

Ritual programme: key elements

The Graeco-Roman festivals were clearly celebrated according to a more-or-less set ritual programme of some sort. We can take for granted that a festival was established at some point, with certain rites and procedures, which were recorded, if only in the memory of the celebrants, and repeated the next time the festival was celebrated.³⁵ Obviously, many festival programmes changed over time, and new aspects or cults may have been introduced, such as the cult of Pelops in Olympia (discussed by Gunnell Ekroth below), with or without the awareness of the participants.³⁶ I have yet to note any festival, however, where the celebration, without any ritual precedence, was reorganized on every occasion. Hence, a ritual programme is an essential feature, even if for most recorded festivals we have scarce or no information about its detailed content.

Ancient festivals involved a variety of ritual types—rituals of rectification, fertility (harvest), initiation, transformation, maintenance, purification, and so on—as well as a variety of ritual components or forms. Clearly, we cannot separate essential from less essential ritual types, but from the great assortment of ritual components, some appear peculiar and particular, others common and customary. I shall here only list some characteristics that seem so widespread that we can deem them essential according to our polythetic definition.³⁷

(a) *Celebrants*. Obviously there were no festivals without people. And at the centre were those who presided over the celebration and performed key cult rituals. Customarily, this task was assigned to a college of magistrates or priests (or a single person of authority), who also kept record of the ritual programme, sacred objects, and texts.³⁸ For the larger public celebrations as discussed above, these colleges were predominantly ‘official’ representatives, in the sense that they were elected or appointed by the community or the government, to perform a public sacrifice according to the calendar. Besides the priests or ritual masters many festivals also had its ambassadors and special guests (*theorodokia*).³⁹ Many celebrations were conducted by groups that recruited their own ceremonial masters, but as discussed above we may consider a public display or inclusive occasion as a hallmark of an ancient festival.

(b) *Sacrifice*. The major festivals all include a blood sacrifice (*thysia*, *sacrificium*); pig, sheep, goat, and oxen being the most popular. Other animals may also appear: at certain festivals, fish (e.g. the Roman Volcanalia) or dogs (e.g. the Roman Lupercalia, Robigalia, the Argive Arnis/Cynophontis) were preferred, and the odd horse can also be found (e.g. Equus October). For some celebrations a bloodless sacrifice may have been favoured, such as for the Black Demeter in Phigaleia (Paus. 8.42). Most of the celebrations recorded in ancient festival calendars that we have knowledge about, however, do have animal sacrifices. In any case, it is hard to imagine a festival without any offerings at all. It seems that the Christian emperors and authorities went right to the heart of pagan celebration when sacrifices were forbidden.⁴⁰ Festivals were probably also the peak time of the year regarding votive offerings and gifts (cf. the *agermos* institution).

(c) *Prayer*. ‘There is rarely a ritual without prayer, and no important prayer without ritual,’ Burkert assures us,⁴¹ and closely connected to the sacrifice in all the major festivals is a prayer of some

sort—for the good of the community, its people, or ruler. We shall not enter into a discussion on the composite forms of prayers or their function (dedicatory, supplicatory, imprecatory, votive, etc.), but simply recognize that appeals to divine powers appear essential to the celebrants during a festival. Our lack of procedural knowledge of the many smaller festivals makes this more of a qualified guess than evidence in a quantitative sense.

(d) *Banquet*. Feasting is elemental, to a degree where some may deem a festival without a feast to be a contradiction in terms. The official banquet was not open to everybody. It seems, however, that the major Greek festivals included a large number among their banqueters, where at least meat from the sacrifice (the *kreanomía*) was distributed not only to the ceremonial participators but to the whole (male) citizen body.⁴² Indeed, there is much epigraphical evidence of different banqueting arrangements, in relation to special invitees and so on during festivals, to suggest that the Greek social system was not so egalitarian after all.⁴³ Feasting seems to be somewhat less imperative in Roman festivals; banquets are recorded for eight of the annual celebrations of the Roman calendar, but only the Saturnalia and the Compitalia offered banquets to the public at large.⁴⁴ Segregation was the rule in Roman religious feasting. Still, we can assume that dining and drinking together were widespread activities, during these festive days, even if not formally arranged by the celebrants for a large number of people.

(e) *Ritual treatment of key cult objects*. Images of the relevant god, being paraded in the streets, re-dressed, cleansed or showered with garlands or flowers, were a common sight during ancient festivals. Other consecrated objects (*ta hiera, sacra*) central to the cult or major votive gifts may also have been displayed or included in festival rituals. In a few celebrations, however, the ritual treatment may have been carried out in secrecy by a small group of ordained celebrants, such as the cleaning of the statue of Athena by a number of women during the Plynteria.

(f) *Procession*. A procession of some sort is connected to many Greek festivals, and although we lack information about many recorded festivals, I conclude with Burkert: 'Hardly a festival is without its *pompe*'.⁴⁵ Even the just mentioned Plynteria, which was conducted in secrecy, had a public procession. Processions appear to have been less important in Roman celebrations, but as pointed out by Jörg Rüpke (below) they were probably an excellent way to produce publicity for

a ritual. Yet, for the great Saturnalia no procession is recorded. We may accordingly be more hesitant to acknowledge the procession as common to all festivals in the entire Graeco-Roman world. Nevertheless, in a polythetic definition it can still pass as a typical element.

(g) *Performance or games*. The whole festival may certainly be viewed as one staged performance, as several distinguished scholars have argued. But a show (*epideixis*) or competition (*agon*)—a visible happening—of some sort was also a customary *element* in a festival programme. And not even always as part of the official programme. Hymns, music, dances, or other forms of ritual performance were part of the liturgies of many well-known festivals, and several also included horse races, torch races, drama, or other spectacles.⁴⁶ To fasten firebrands to foxes' tails and have them run in the Circus Maximus, as the Romans did for the Cerealia, were probably among the more bizarre shows, though we have many descriptions of peculiar acts and pageants. Games or competitions, from the drama contest of the City Dionysia, the pyrrhic dances of the Panathenaia, to the athletic games and the Roman *ludi* and *circenses*, were important to many festivals—especially the Panhellenic 'crown games' (*stephanitai*). Agonistic activities were certainly not mandatory, but quite common, to such a degree that the Roman world saw a great number of travelling performers—athletes, musicians, poets, actors, singers, dancers, and so on—who made up a festival industry. Shows and games united and entertained participants and spectators alike, and a performance of some kind certainly characterized a Graeco-Roman festival.⁴⁷

There are probably other features or elements in the ritual form of festivals in the Classical world that could be highlighted; perhaps some scholars would deem a few of the ones I have included to be insufficiently observable or significant. Nonetheless, I propose the following: no festival is without rituals; the rituals were performed according to a predisposed plan administered by a group of celebrants, and customarily they included prayers, sacrifices, banquets, cult images, processions, and performances of some sort. This leads us now to the far more tricky question of worship and purpose.

Sacred or secular: a question of religion?

All the major archetypal festivals are clearly centred round the worship of the main gods. Hence, we can deduce that cult activity was an

essential feature of Graeco-Roman festivals. 'In historischer Zeit hatte jedoch jedes Fest seinen Gott,' as Martin P. Nilsson puts it in his study of *Griechische Feste*.⁴⁸ H. W. Parke starts his *Festivals of the Athenians* by stating that 'by "festival" is meant the days set aside by the Athenian state for the worship of deities. In the ancient Greek city there were no purely secular festivals.'⁴⁹ The many smaller festivals known to us do not necessarily involve the main gods, however, and sometimes the actual god or spirit involved is rather blurred, such as the Ionian Apaturia and the Roman Lucaria. What is more, a number of recorded commemorations and festivities do not seem to be connected to divine worship at all, such as the Athenian remembrance of the famous victory at Marathon on the sixth of Boedromion, the Roman Regifugium and Poplifugia and all the 'Geschlechterfeste, deren Bedeutung nicht so sehr religiös war,' as Nilsson observes.⁵⁰ Nilsson, moreover, treats Classical Greece and thus ignores Hellenistic ruler-cult celebrations, such as the Demetria instituted in Athens in 307 BC in tribute to Antigonus and his son Demetrius.⁵¹

If we follow Nilsson, Parke, and Mikalson (in his *OCD* definition cited above), festivals involve (communicating with) divine powers. This means that our perhaps most common modern idea of a festival—in Western terms at least—as a secular gathering of people pursuing a common interest, such as music, art, or veteran cars, is not equivalent to an ancient festival. Moreover, looking at national holidays or calendrical days of extra festivity in most Western countries, the ones that are most similar to ancient festivals are either secularized celebrations with a Christian backbone, such as Halloween, Thanksgiving, Carnival, St Patrick's Day, or they are modern non-religious state memorials, such as independence days, days of the constitution, labour day, and so forth. The modern annual festivals of harvests, flowers, and fruits certainly have much in common with ancient festivals, with the German Oktoberfest as a vivid example. Few would label such as religious celebrations, however. The Norwegian national day, the seventeenth of May, celebrating the Norwegian constitution, is a great outdoor event all over Norway, with public processions and parades, games, particular symbols, and massive feasting. However, there is no god at the centre of this celebration (not counting the Constitution as a deity), and nobody would refute that it is secular—yet we, no doubt, would have included it among the key festivals had they been described thus in an

ancient source. We may furthermore ask whether there is a significant difference between these celebrations and, for instance, the Panathenaia. The Panathenaia was certainly not only about worshipping Athena, but was as much a veneration of Athens, her political order and her citizens.⁵²

The distinction between religious and secular, profane and sacred is certainly not obvious and uncomplicated, but as Scott Scullion shows in his chapter in this volume, it may occasionally be accounted for even in antiquity. In his description of Roman religion, Polybius holds that it was spectacular and staged, and that the celebrations and public ceremonies were vital to control the masses (6.56.6–15). Yet, this is not a matter of cynical political tactics, he declares; rather, the ceremonies and festivals of the Roman Republic were natural elements in a well-functioning organism. To try to distinguish between truly religious and purely secular celebrations in Graeco-Roman times seems at any rate folly. The religious and the secular are intertwined, but can we be sure that there was a true ‘supernatural power’ involved in all ancient festivals?

Many scholars and laymen have for instance expressed doubt concerning whether the ancient ruler-cult celebrations were truly religious rituals, concerning supernatural powers. The question can be put thus: Would a Roman take seriously as a religious occurrence the cult of, say, Hadrian’s mother-in-law *diva* Matidia, her huge temple on the Campus Martius, and the *supplicatio* (recorded in the Dura Europus military calendar) for her birthday? In the Codex-calendar of 354 (Filocalus) no less than ninety-eight days of imperial *ludi* and *circenses* are recorded, far more than all the ‘other’ gods and spirits together.⁵³ Would this escalation in imperial *divi* and the number of holidays in the Roman calendar during Imperial times not be puzzling to a Roman? There is no way to do justice to the vast theoretical debate concerning these issues in this short paper. I am nonetheless persuaded by the arguments put forward by among others, Simon Price and Ittai Gradel, that it is futile and wrong to view the imperial cult as political as opposed to a truly religious cult of the ordinary gods. Divinity can come in many degrees, and cult acts and divine honours are about showing veneration and negotiating the *do ut des* game.⁵⁴ The point is that these imperial celebrations were *conducted* as a sacred event, to a divinity. Modern and ancient doubt may count for little; as Alföldy points out: ‘Before the victory of the Church, there were no other cults in the Roman empire which enjoyed such success.’⁵⁵ Furthermore, we shall not forget the many

present-day worshippers of late and living people, including the cult of certain football teams, or even footballers. And there are probably many similarities between ancient notions of *apotheosis* and divinity, and the cult of Princess Diana.

Celebrating great victories or important occasions within the ruler family certainly had a religious element and it would involve cult activity. We can hence maintain that a Graeco-Roman festival was a religious celebration, even though it often had social or political aims and aspects as well. Cult acts and the worship of gods or less clearly defined divine powers constituted an essential element in a Graeco-Roman festival, and consequently must be one of the central features in a polythetic definition.

A different question connected to divinity is whether we should include Jewish and Christian celebrations. One could, of course, easily argue that celebrations performed by Jews according to the Jewish calendar, whether in Palestine or in Diaspora, were festivals that took place in the Graeco-Roman world. The same goes for the Christian celebrations, when they were instituted, even though they were not firmly established according to the calendar of the church until Late Antiquity. On the other hand, a Graeco-Roman festival would first and foremost be conceived within a polytheistic religious universe of the Greeks and Romans in Classical times.

Connected to worship and divinity is the question of what the purpose was for the ancients of celebrating a festival. Motives and intentions are not easily laid out, and cannot, I assume, be incorporated in a polythetic definition in any fruitful way. Still, the purpose of the Graeco-Roman festival is arguably far more interesting than a mere description of essential features and components. *Why* festivals were celebrated is obviously a key issue—also for our question what a festival is—but cannot be dealt with in much detail in this paper. Several of the other contributions to the present volume delve further into this. To end this quest, I shall limit myself to briefly sketching out some possible reasons for the Greeks and Romans celebrating their festivals.

THE PURPOSE OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN FESTIVAL

We recall Mikalson's claim that festivals 'were intended, in general terms, to maintain or renew the desired relationship with supernatural

powers', and something similar is stated in most studies. We have established above that the Graeco-Roman festival was a religious celebration, and there seems to be no disagreement that its purpose was (like all pagan cult acts) to show veneration for and appease the gods and divine powers, thus fulfilling man's part of a comprehended pact of exchanging favours and deeds. But that was not the only purpose, and sometimes not even the most important purpose. In searching for purpose we may lay weight on both function and intention.

The Graeco-Roman festival, taking place in public with its often vivid ritual programme, certainly united and entertained the participants and spectators, and hence helped reproduce and strengthen common convictions and ideals of the community. This was one of the main purposes of celebrating festivals, or else a required sacrifice could have been performed without further ado. *Communitas*-bolstering can doubtless take many forms and serve more particular purposes, depending on the festival in question. A festival is thus a means to form and preserve the collective memory, be that of communal myths, traditions, values or beliefs. They confirm the world order and keep each individual in his or her place in this order. Festivals are conservative in this sense and therefore also an efficient tool for maintaining the social and political status quo. Through its ritual programme and renewal of the obligations to the gods, the Graeco-Roman festivals in many ways cemented the existing political order as part of the *pax deorum*, commonly with the current political leaders as key celebrants. A festival was about staging power and the existing power structure. But with Clifford Geertz we may state that political rituals do not only construe and give form to power, they also construct power. The introduction of new festivals or the transformation of existing ones may be seen as attempts to adjust or create new sociopolitical ties and ideologies, as argued among others by Noel Robertson, Leslie Kurke, and Barbara Kowalzig.⁵⁶ We may consequently view the celebration of ruler-cult festivals as an attempt to buttress a somewhat new political order, including establishing new communities of celebrants, all in keeping with the traditional world order and religion (as pointed out by Buraselis below). Celebrating non-traditional cults, connected to the ruler or a 'foreign' god of the ruling power, may be seen as a mark of submission or loyalty, as so many scholars have claimed, and the main purpose hence political. The introduction of new cults and festivals within a polytheistic society may certainly also merely be an act of acknowledging

a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population and an attempt to maintain peace and stability. The large Panhellenic festivals brought Greeks together in what was largely a celebration of Greekness. And the festivals of the Roman Empire were surely also about unifying the people under Roman rule, within the *pax Romana*, whether we wish to call it Romanization or not.

A festival is furthermore a manifestation of inclusion and exclusion, as it marks out the community of celebrants from others, be it according to age (e.g. festivals with passage rites), gender, legal or social status, residency, or ethnicity. A festival is thus not only about uniting a community, it may also be about outlining subgroups and pointing out differences: virgins, married women, boys, *epheboi*, demesmen, male citizens, *xenoi/peregrini*, slaves, and so on. A festival is thus also about seeing and being seen. The festival would not only concern, but also mark out the community and the residents therein; the deme or tribe as opposed to others, the polis as opposed to other city states, or the Greek or Roman world as opposed to all barbarians. Thus, an objective may be not just boosting 'we together', but also 'us v. them', pointing out who belonged to the community and who did not. Within this frame of mind, the festival—at least the major ones—may also be regarded as attempts to demonstrate some sort of superiority (morally, culturally, economically, politically, etc.) of the particular community or party of celebrants.

Pleasure and merrymaking, surely, was another important reason to celebrate a festival also for the ancients—to break the ordinary rhythm of labour and duties, to eat, drink, and enjoy the festivity, as is evident from Burkert's article in this volume. The games, plays, and athletic competitions of many festivals would clearly have caused anticipation and fuss akin to those of the present day. It was about performing, showing off, spotting talents, socializing, betting, cheering, booing, and, for the participants, competing for the first prize with its material and honorary gains. Certain festivals even had the element of a reversed world order, such as the Saturnalia, and would offer a rare chance to escape the ordinary, so that they possibly also functioned as social safety valves.⁵⁷

These rudimentary thoughts about the purpose of the Graeco-Roman festival are little more than initial ideas and extracts from the work of other scholars. This is a field where more research would be appreciated even if the question of function and intention can never be fully solved. Still, the question of purpose belongs to a discussion of

what a festival is, and I maintain that we need to also focus on *why* festivals were celebrated and *what* they brought about in the Graeco-Roman world, not just on how, where, and by whom. The purpose of particular festivals may vary greatly, but in general terms the festival was as much a civic manifestation and a social event as a religious act.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Following an idea of a polythetic definition or conceptualization, I have proposed a number of essential features or characteristics that constitute the Graeco-Roman festival. They should not be regarded singly either as requisite or sufficient for group 'membership', but as typical hallmarks that in sum would characterize a festival. In my brief discussion I have emphasized the major and well-known festivals, seeing them as archetypes, but have also tried to pay attention to a bulk of smaller and lesser known celebrations that also appear in our sources. According to the idea of a polythetic approach, we shall not end up with a tight definition, but a *prototype* Graeco-Roman festival may be described as:

1. A cyclic celebration, recurring annually (in keeping with a calendar), or less frequently (in accordance with a time measure of some sort).
2. A celebration at a specific place, with a focal point (a shrine, sacred place, sanctuary, altar).
3. A public celebration, based in, and open to, members of the community (whether narrowly or widely defined). Parts of the sacred ritual may, nevertheless, have been performed in secrecy, for initiated celebrants only.
4. A celebration with a ritual programme, customarily comprising: (a) a party of defined celebrants; (b) sacrifice; (c) prayer; (d) banquet; (e) display/treatment of cult objects; (f) procession; (g) other pageants, shows or games.
5. A celebration centred on pagan worship and cult acts, with the purpose of maintaining or renewing the desired relationship with divine powers, and furthermore of construing and bolstering the community it was based in, its common identity, institutions, social order and relations to others.

Not all recorded festivals will fit this prototype description. By claiming that the festival was cyclic, for instance, we exclude all ad hoc celebrations such as weddings, funerals and victories. A celebration is accordingly not in keeping with the prototype unless it is repeated, to commemorate the primary occasion. The Roman *triumphus* lacks this true cyclic feature, but does arguably fulfil all the other hallmarks and may thus by many be regarded as a festival. The triumphs privately celebrated in *Albano monte* lack an official stamp as well and are further from the prototype, as would funeral games (*epitaphioi agones*) for a dead aristocrat.

Many celebrations are merely mentioned somewhere in ancient literature or recorded in a preserved inscription, and the lack of further information makes it impossible to determine whether or not they fit these prototype traits. Of the rather peculiar *festus puerorum lenoniorium* (feast for the boy prostitutes) recorded in the *Fasti Praenestini*, for instance, we know nothing more than its name; nonetheless, based on this alone it appears to fall short of many of the essential characteristics of a Graeco-Roman festival. From the recent studies of calendars, moreover, we have learned that a calendar entry does not necessarily mean that a festival was actually celebrated, and vice versa. Caution must be taken before considering the one to denote the other.

It is evident that not all celebrations can be described as public, or confined to a strict location, or engaging a community at large, or perhaps not even directed at divine worship. Whether or not they ought to be considered festivals according to our polythetic definition would hence depend on how they apply to the other characteristics and the individual scholar's judgement. Some of the features summarized as prototypical above may be regarded as more central or obligatory than others, but beyond the discussion conducted already, I shall not attempt to weigh them any further or ponder how many would be needed to make up a festival; that would arguably undermine the whole idea of a polythetic definition.

NOTES

1. I know, because I have done so. At a preliminary stage of organizing a symposium that eventually led to this publication, I sent all the participants a questionnaire about the nature of the Graeco-Roman

festival. I am grateful for the responses I received, and together with the discussion during the symposium, it inspired this article.

2. e.g. we do not find the Roman festivals under the term 'Fest' in *Der neue Pauly*, but have to look under 'Ludi'.
3. There are, however, some valuable discussions on what constitute a festival in Parker (2005), 155–73; and Slater (2007).
4. Mommsen (1864); Fowler (1908); Parke (1977); Scullard (1981).
5. Nilsson (1906); Deubner (1932); Simon (1983).
6. On Magnesia, see Sumi (2004). On the transformation of Greek festivals in Hellenistic and Roman times, see also Nijf (1999).
7. Cf. Harrison (1922), esp. chs. 1–4.
8. Cf. Burkert, ch. 2 in this volume; also Cartledge (1985) for a good introduction to the Greek terms in regard to different festivals and their nature. Mikalson (1982) gives an interesting discussion of *heortai*, distinguishing them as Greek festivals proper. An alternative for the Greek festivals would be to include all rites recorded ending in a neuter plural *-a*, as suggested by Parker (2005), 158, but, as he also points out, that may exclude obvious festival 'candidates'.
9. The short description of Roman festivals in *OCD* (3rd edn.) by W. K. Pritchett and T. G. E. Powell, retained from a previous edition, does not give a pointed definition.
10. Burkert (1985), 99.
11. The Great Daidala was celebrated every fifty-ninth year according to Pausanias (9.3.5); cf. Strasser (2004). The Roman secular celebrations were to be held with an interval of a *saeculum*, fixed in 17 BC to 110 years; cf. Pighi (1965) and Weiss (1973). Claudius introduced a new cycle when he celebrated secular games in AD 47, on the eight hundredth birthday of Rome, whereas Domitian continued the old cycle in AD 88.
12. e.g. Michels (1967); Mikalson (1975); Herz (1975).
13. Strabo 9.2.11; cf. Boethius (1918); Deubner (1932), 203–4; and Parker (2005), 83–7.
14. Cf. Michels (1967), 73 ff.; Rüpke (1995), 487–92; and Christopher Smith, ch. 9 in the present volume.
15. Fowler (1908) does not account for triumph at all in his monograph on the Roman festivals, whereas Scullard (1981) gives a brief description in a last chapter on 'Other Occasions' without presenting the triumph institution as a festival.
16. Mommsen (1864), 409–10; Parke (1977), 139–40.
17. Cf. Parker (2005), 75–8, 173–7.
18. Cf. Burkert (1985), 234–6; Robertson (2002).
19. Cf. Wilson (2007) for a fresh account.
20. Cf. Nilsson (1906), 313–25.
21. Fowler (1908), 271–3; Scullard (1981), 206.

22. Cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* (esp. ch. 1).
23. Fishwick (1987–2005); Price 1984; Gradel (2002).
24. Rüpke (1995), esp. 95–186; cf. also Beard, North and Price (1998), i 322–39.
25. Rüpke (1995), 163.
26. Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940); Beard, North and Price (1998), ii 71–4 (no. 3.5).
27. Cf. Ligt and Neeve (1988).
28. Versnel (1992); Parker (2005), 270–89.
29. More on gender and social status in Attic festivals in Parker (2005), 165–73.
30. But as argued by Rüpke (1995) and mentioned above, the local calendars from outside Rome in Imperial times do not record the festivals celebrated locally.
31. Cf. Harmon (1978b).
32. Cf. Robertson (1996).
33. Kloppenborg and Wilson (1996); Arnaoutoglou (2003); Rüpke (2002). The problem of private v. public and individual v. community connected to the mysteries is well discussed by Burkert (1998).
34. Cf. Parker (2005), 162: ‘Perhaps the real mark of a festival is in fact breadth of participation: an event is a festival if large numbers of the group celebrating it (citizens, for a festival of the city; demesmen, for a deme, and so on) are involved. It would contrast with the many sacrifices “on behalf of the Athenian people” in fact conducted by a small number of people.’
35. Cf. Wörrle (1988) for a detailed study of the establishment of a festival (*panegyris*) with a ritual programme in the Lycian city Oenoanda in AD 124.
36. On changes in ritual practice, cf. inter alia Bell (1997), 210–52, and Slater (2007).
37. Cf. Slater (2007), 21, on some Greek epigraphical evidence on festival content.
38. Cf. Burkert (1985), 95–8; Zaidman and Pantel (1992), 46–54; Beard and North (1990), esp. 19–48, 73–91, 177–231; Scullard (1981), 27–31.
39. Cf. Hennig (1997) and Perlman (2000).
40. *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.2; Bradbury (1994).
41. Burkert (1985), 73.
42. e.g. the Panathenaia: *Syll.*³ 271; the Hyacinthia: *Ath.* 4.139d. Cf. Parke (1977), 47 (for the City Dionysia, p. 127) and Nilsson (1906), 133–4. Kowalzig (2007), 188–201, writes excellently on *thysia*, *xenia* and banqueting in Delphi.
43. Cf. Slater (2007), 24.
44. Donahue (2003), 429–32.

45. Burkert (1985), 99. On processions see also Nilsson (1951). Since processions are distinctive and may be performed in secrecy, I prefer to keep them apart from the next characteristic (g).
46. Cf. many of the contributors in Wilson (ed.) (2007).
47. But see Rüpke's contribution to this publication for a somewhat different view.
48. Nilsson (1906), 463.
49. Parke (1977), 13. He is nonetheless quick to underline that 'the ancient Greeks had no rigid distinction between activities of a religious or of a worldly character'.
50. Parke (1977), 13.
51. Deubner (1932), 235. Much the same goes for the major studies on Roman festivals (Fowler, 1908; Scullard, 1981), which treat Republican Rome and thus do not address Roman Imperial celebrations.
52. Cf. Neils Chapter 6 in this volume, besides Neils (1996), and Connor (2000).
53. Salzman (1990), 131–46.
54. See e.g. Price (1984), esp. chs. 1 and 2; Gradel 2002, esp. ch. 2.
55. Alföldy (1996), 256.
56. e.g. Robertson (1992); Kurke (2007); and Kowalzig (2007).
57. Cf. Bourboulis (1964).

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Ancient Views on Festivals

A Case of Near Eastern Mediterranean Koine

Walter Burkert

Festivals are undoubtedly rituals, i.e. demonstrative actions with an agenda and the possibility of repetition;¹ but not every ritual makes a festival. There is a special experience involved—a distinctive feeling. This study will show, based mainly on the literary evidence, how common this concept and experience has been for both the Greeks and their neighbours. The characteristics and even details are identical, comparable, or at least understandable in a transcultural perspective. A thorough theoretical discussion of comparativism will be left aside, as will the systems of calendars, the agricultural year, and the stages of life with aspects of initiation; there will be no search for the most abstruse proceedings. Rather, some picture of normality should emerge from the ancients' accounts or constructs.

A few remarks on languages: festival is a concept and a word unmistakably attested in the various languages of our Koine, from the Near East via Greece to Rome. The pertinent words even seem to have a tendency towards intercultural diffusion. There is the Sumerogram EZEN, used also in combinations such as EZEN MU ('festival of the year') or EZEN ITU ('festival of the month'); the cuneiform sign and the word have been adopted by Akkadian *isinnu*,² and the sign EZEN is also commonly used in Hittite cuneiform—the native Hittite word is obscured by this. In any case, there is understanding through four languages,³ including Hurrite with the knowledge that a festival does not just 'happen'; it has to be 'made', which is expressed by a

very common verb, *epeshu* in Akkadian, *ia-* in Hittite, *jrj* in Egyptian,⁴ *asah* in Hebrew, and *ποιεῖν/ποιεῖσθαι* in Greek.⁵

The Greek word for festival is *ἐορτή*, well attested since Homer's *Odyssey* and still used in modern Greek; there is no etymology. Another important Greek word is *πανήγυρις*, the 'meeting of all'; characteristically this word survives in Turkish *panayır*. In Alcman, we meet with another old designation, *agón*, evidently referring to a market to which cattle and sheep are 'led' (*ágein*). Latin *feriae*, with the adjective *festus*, has had a dominating influence on most European languages: French *la fête*; Italian *la festa*; Spanish *fiesta*; English *festival*, *feast*, and *fair*—from 'vanity fair' to hard business. In German we have *Fest* and *Feier*. This does not mean that festivals were an import for the Germanic tribes; an old Germanic word, *die Dult*, survives in the Bavarian dialect.

The Hebrew word for festival is *hag* (with *het*), corresponding to Arabic *Hadsch*. Hebrew festivals are prescribed and partly described in the Torah (esp. Exodus 23.14–16); many of them still persist in Jewish practice. The New Testament has no problem translating *hag* with *heorté*, e.g. *πάσχα ἡ ἐορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (John 6:4, cf. 2:23), or *ἐορτὴ τῶν ἁζύμων* (Luke 22:1), and the 'festival of huts', *hag hassukoth* (Koehler and Baumgartner 1967–90, 710 f.), *ἡ ἐορτὴ ἡ σκηνοπηγία* (John 7:2; 7:37).

Let us start with the uncommonly detailed description of a festival in Palestine, presented by Sozomen in his *Ecclesiastical History* (2.4.2–5). It occurs 'at the tree called Mamre, the place they now call the Terebinth'. This is Hebron, south of Jerusalem, where the tombs of Abraham and his family are still venerated by both Jews and Muslims, though not without conflicts.⁶ At the time of Sozomen there was, apart from those tombs, a sanctuary characterized by the Terebinth; it is mentioned with this very name already in Josephus.⁷ Sozomen was born in the region of Gaza, so he had first-hand knowledge of Southern Palestine; about 443/50 CE he writes (my translation):

There they celebrate up to the present day a splendid yearly festival [*panegyris*] in the summer season, which includes local people and from further away Palestinians, Phoenicians, and Arabs. Many people come together, also for the business of selling and buying. All of them are eager to take part in the festival: the Jews because they boast that Abraham is their patriarch; the pagans because of the angels [who had made their epiphany there]; and the Christians, because on that occasion to the pious man [sc. Abraham] there appeared the one who

later was to reveal himself in the view of all for the salvation of the human race through the Virgin [sc. pre-existing Christ within the Holy Trinity]. In accordance with their forms of piety they honour the place, some praying to the universal god, others invoking the angels, pouring wine, and sacrificing frankincense and either a cow, a goat, a sheep or a rooster: whatever animal one had to care for, a beautiful one would be carefully fed and looked after through the whole year, as promised, for feasting at the festival in this place for himself and his family. All of them, in honouring the place or avoiding bad luck from divine wrath, do not engage in sex with women, although these women take more care of their beauty and use special ornaments for the festival; nor do they practise other forms of licentiousness, and this is in spite of them generally having huts in common and sleeping together. For the place is under the open sky, just a field which has no buildings other than those which had been the house of Abraham, beside the tree and the well, which is constructed at the tree. But at the time of the festival nobody would take water from there. For according to pagan custom some put burning torches there, others poured wine into it or dropped cakes, others coins, or unguents, or incense; and by this, of course, the water became unusable, because it was affected by the things thrown into it. This was done in this way with enjoyment, as is usual for pagans . . .

Unfortunately, the mother-in-law of Constantine came to the place and was upset by such flourishing paganism. She made a report to the emperor, and Constantine forthwith issued a decree blaming the bishops of Palestine for tolerating these customs.⁸ He ordered that the altar be upturned from its foundations, the idols burnt, and the impure sacrifices stop; furthermore, a Christian basilica was to be built on the spot, and whoever of those damned people (ἐναγῶν καὶ μυσαρῶν ἀνθρώπων) came back with a pagan ritual were to be executed. That purge was the end of the festival.

What Sozomen describes is, we would say, a multi-culti-festival, not a Jewish one; Jews would in any case have been a vulnerable minority in Palestine at the time. Sozomen mentions Palestinians, Phoenicians, and Arabs, which is a geographical distribution: Palestine at the centre, with the other areas to the north and the south; the route of incense led from *Arabia felix* directly to Hebron. Sozomen also distinguishes Jews, Greeks, and Christians, which is sorting out religious groups: Ἕλληνες stands for pagans, among whom speakers of Greek would have been mixed up with various groups of Aramaeans; Sozomen is not interested in languages. We have different provenience, different languages, different religious traditions, different

'beliefs', different rituals with different kinds of offerings—all of them polluting the sacred well—and yet this is one and the same great festival, in which they all rejoice. Sozomen says nothing about state authority nor about local organization, which must have been present in some form; at least the date 'in the summer season' would have to be fixed, in spite of different calendars all around. There seems to be free access, without special invitation, and more mutual arrangement than authoritative planning or legislation—before the harsh intervention of Constantine.

Note that there seems to be no common religious dogma for the festival, no 'theology' of the event, no authoritative 'sacred tale'. There is just the understanding that in the far past some divine epiphany selected this spot, and that the terebinth, exceedingly old, has been left to testify for that; gods still watch over this place, with punishments and blessings. We know of course what the Hebrews told about Abraham at Mamre (Genesis 18), quite a common, Koine-type of a tale: gods arriving in disguise to be treated as guests, with unforeseen consequences.⁹ This type of foundation myth is also found elsewhere in Palestine, as well as in Asia Minor and Greece: Philemon and Baucis are probably still best known, thanks to Ovid; the birth of Orion is a closer parallel from Greek mythology, leading in addition to offspring.¹⁰ The Hebrew text starts by stating that Jahweh 'made himself seen' (*jera'*) to Abraham, but then three anonymous men arrive, are received and entertained as guests. Afterwards Jahweh discusses with Abraham the fate of Sodom, while two 'angels' (*mel-akchim*, Genesis 19:1), as they are called by now, set off towards Sodom. Josephus speaks of three ἄγγελοι who revealed themselves to Abraham, whereas Christians found the 'Trinity' presented—so already in Constantine's decree.¹¹ Sozomen does not make explicit which concept of 'angels' either Greeks or Arabs might have had. Clearly the festival did not depend on one interpretation.

We may be reminded that one of the foundation myths of Olympia also has the gods visiting; they feast with Tantalus, and Pelops the child is cut up for dinner—a myth loathed by Pindar. There were also other foundation myths for Olympia, mentioned in Pausanias, with Cronus, Dactyloi, and Heracles.¹² The Hellenist, striving to disentangle these myths, may learn from Palestine: the festival will succeed even without agreement on *theologia*.

What, then, are the characteristic features that comprise the festival at Mamre? There are local elements to identify the sanctuary,

basically the water, the tree,¹³ and the stone marker or altar.¹⁴ Bronze Age iconography and most descriptions of classical sanctuaries agree on these elements. The attraction of the sanctuary will lead to festival tourism and to pilgrimage. People come from afar and remain for days close to the sacred spot. This goes beyond the standard calendar festivals of the polis. The Mysteries of Eleusis were announced months in advance throughout Greece, as were the Pythia of Delphi. Travelling was a typical feature also for Jewish festivals. Luke has the story of how, at the age of 12, Jesus went with his parents in a travelling group (*συνοδία*) to Jerusalem for the Passover, and got lost at the temple (Luke 2:42–50); the Gospel of John has Jesus travelling to Jerusalem for the festival of huts (John 7:2). Titus deliberately attacked Jerusalem ‘when, because of the festival, people were crowded there’.¹⁵

For sleeping out, huts or ‘tents’, *σκηναί*, were needed. One Hebrew festival had its very name from these, *hag sukkoth*, *σκηνοπηγία*, called *Laubhütten* in the German Bible. The Greek women festival Thesmophoria required women to stay out of their houses for two or three nights, dwelling in *σκηναί*.¹⁶ Sozomen underlines the rules of discipline, enforced by the fear of divine wrath; Attic comedy rather exploits unruly encounters at nocturnal festivals.¹⁷ As to Olympia, there is the nice anecdote about Plato travelling there and sharing a *σκηνή* with unknown people; he ‘lived with them, ate with them, passed the day with them’ (*συνεσκήνωσεν, συνεστιώμενος, συνδιημερεύων*); later these people, coming to Athens, wished to meet the famous philosopher Plato and were quite surprised that this was their unimposing friend from the *σκηνή*.¹⁸ Such customs apparently endure to this day: a friend of mine related how a few years ago he and his companions climbed Mount Taygetus and were surprised to find groups of Greeks assembled there, waiting for the festival of Prophitis Elias on the next day; they were immediately assigned a place to sleep for the night by the *papas*, whereupon they preferred to climb down again.

The main ritual for getting in contact with the ‘sacred’ is offerings and sacrifice. For offerings at Mamre, both the altar and the pond were crucial. Throwing an object into water—a ritual that is observed even today, such as when tourists toss coins into the Fontana di Trevi in Rome—is a form of offering which is well documented even in prehistory.¹⁹ For Sozomen this is a ‘pagan rule’, *νόμος Ἑλληνικός*. The consequence for Abraham’s pond was more realistic than edifying: hopeless pollution. One of the most wonderful water flows in Greek

Peloponnesus, the sources of Lerna close to Argos, became proverbial for the pollution produced by purification rites commonly performed there: *Λέρνη κακῶν*, 'Lerna of filth'.²⁰

There is a more positive practice on which all agree: feasting at the festival.²¹ Sozomen does not bother with the often-criticized double function of *θυσία*: to honour the gods and to provide meat for the mortal celebrants. The idea of holocaust does not come up. The main preparation for the Hebron festival, throughout the year, was to raise some domestic animal, whether a cow, goat, sheep, or rooster—a 'beautiful' one—to be offered to the divine and to serve for the 'feast of the local festival'.²² Even for Plato 'feasting that takes place in the festivals, in the community with gods' is an essential characteristic of the festival.²³ At Hebron and elsewhere, such feasting would have created small, lively communities within the larger crowd, dining groups which did not interfere with the others, but still helped to spread the cheerful feeling that encompassed the whole area.

One might ask whether such intercultural aggregation is a speciality of festivals in Palestine and Syria, where similar meetings of various religious groups at special sites are attested even in recent times.²⁴ Note the sanctuary of Zeus Cassius, alias Hadad, on Mount Cassius, frequented by Hittites, Semites, Greeks, and Romans over centuries down to the time of Julian.²⁵ As for Greece, the polis seems to promote closed groups seeking solidarity by 'sharing the sacred'. Contacts were made, however, for their major festivals through *θεωροί*. When Athens made an alliance with Sparta, they stipulated that Spartan envoys would come for the Athenian Dionysia, and Athenian envoys for the Spartan Hyacinthia.²⁶ At a rural festival a passing stranger would be invited.²⁷ At Olympia only Hellenes were admitted, but one would make constructions to include the Macedonians, and later the Romans; for Eleusis, the *πρόρρησις* excluded those who used 'incomprehensible language', but Lacedaemonians were included even by mythical antecedents.²⁸ The metics took part in the Panathenaic procession with separate gifts for the Goddess. The new festival of Bendis at Athens was organized by Thracians and Athenians in collaboration, but with two separate *pompai*.²⁹ Delos became international with Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans venerating Apollo thanks to 'the sacred bonds of commerce'.³⁰

Still, festivals are more than commerce. The Greeks developed a theory of festivals, with the most perceptive text to be found in

Strabo.³¹ Strabo's context is a discussion of *Kouretes*, both in Homer and elsewhere. To translate the central passage (10.3.9):

This is common among Greeks and barbarians, to perform sacred rituals with festive relaxation [*μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἑορταστικῆς*], some with enthusiasm, some without, some with music and some not, some in mystic secrecy, some in public. And this is suggested by nature. For relaxation turns the mind away from human affairs and necessarily directs it towards the divine. Enthusiasm seems to contain some divine inspiration, and to be close to the field of divination; and mystic hiding of sacred things makes the divine sublime, imitating its nature which flees from our perception [this is the famous saying of Heraclitus (B 123). 'Nature likes to be concealed']. And music, which has to do with dance and rhythm and melody, provides contact with the divine through enjoyment and art, for this reason: it is a good saying that humans are most intensively imitating the gods when they do good; but it were better to say that they most intensively imitate the gods while they are happy [*ὅταν εὐδαιμονῶσιν*]. Of this sort is joy and festival, and philosophy and the touch of music . . .

The central characteristic of a festival, in Strabo's view, is *ἀνεσις* (relaxation) and the enjoyment that comes from this. We find similar statements in other authors too, e.g. in Seneca: 'Spirits must be allowed relaxation . . . lawgivers have instituted festival days in order to compel people to hilarity in public, as if to make intermissions for labour by the necessary temperance'.³² More down to earth is a text in Athenaeus (363d):

One saw that it is not possible to prevent humans from the impetus towards enjoyment, but it is useful to teach them to make orderly and moderate use of it; so they defined certain times and made sacrifice to the gods first, and then they let humans free towards relaxation, so that everyone should think that the gods arrive for the first-fruit offerings and the libations, and hence people should make their social contacts with respect.

The basic text is in fact in Plato's *Laws* (653cd):

The gods had pity with mankind, fraught with labour, and thus, as a respite from toil, they ordered the interchange with gods at festivals, and they gave Apollo the leader of the Muses and Dionysus as festive consorts [*συνῆγορταστάς*], so that people may find restoration, and (they established) the feasting that takes place at the festivals in the community with gods.³³

Even before Plato, Thucydides has Pericles say: 'Nay to make good for toils we have established quite a lot of relaxations (*ἀναπαύλας*) for the mind' (2.38). The speciality of Strabo's chapter is to accept enjoyment, nay 'happiness' (*εὐδαιμονεῖν*), as the really 'divine' state of humans. Such 'happiness' is said to be even higher than doing good, with *εὐδαιμονεῖν* being above *εὐεργετεῖν*. It is doubtful whether this can be Stoic doctrine; Plato definitely would not have agreed. But joy also resounds from many other festival texts.³⁴

For confirmation, let us take a closer look at two famous pieces of Greek poetry, by Theocritus and Sappho, respectively. The *Thalysia* (7) of Theocritus is intrinsically an exercise in literature, a proclamation of Bucolic poetry; Simichidas and Lycidas compete with their songs, and the club of Lycidas is passed on to Simichidas, as Hesiod had been given the laurel staff. We need not solve the allusions in the figurative text, on which interpreters do not agree.³⁵ Just take the narrative frame, which is a wandering towards a festival, *ὁδὸς θαλυσιάς* (31); the event is arranged by two friends (*ἔτευχε* 3; *τελεῖντι* 32), and will culminate in a feast (*δαῖς* 32) for Demeter. 'They are giving first fruits from their riches, because the goddess has well filled their threshing-floor with grain' (33 f.). This 'threshing floor' of *Δαμάττηρ Ἀλωίς*, at the friends' estate, will be the very place of the festival (134 ff). Deep couches of sweet rush and vine leaves are prepared for the celebrants to sit on, with poplars and elms above them, and the 'sacred' water of the Nymphs splashing from a cave—we recall the importance of trees and water (cf. n. 13)—with cicadas chattering, a frog crying, larks and finches singing, bees humming about the springs; there is also a scent of summer and harvest, pears and apples, and of grapes too; an excellent wine of mythical quality is offered, near the altar of 'Demeter of the Threshing-Floor'. There remains the desire: May this happen again! 'And Demeter shall laugh, holding up sheaves and poppies in either hand.'

Note the realistic details: the invitation; wandering towards the place; the allusion to some foundation myth at the source; the typical *locus amoenus* with trees and rustling water, with cicadas, birds and bees, all under the spell of Demeter of the Threshing-Floor. Contact with the divine is being made through offerings, *ἀπαρχαί*; the corresponding *δαῖς* will probably include animal sacrifice as well—pigs belong to Demeter. The *δαῖς* is 'for Demeter', but it is mortals who are feasting, of course. Amidst wonderful wine, poetry touches on magic;

the scene turns into epiphany: there is Demeter herself, laughing, holding up sheaves and poppies in ritual iconography.³⁶

A much older text is Sappho's second poem, the 'poem from the ostrakon' (2 Voigt). It is an invocation of Aphrodite in the setting of a festival, described in unmistakable details. To attempt a rough translation:

(Come) hither to me from Crete, to a sanctuary [*ναῦος*], a pure one, where there is a delightful grove of apple trees, and altars fumigated with incense; therein cold water is rustling through branches of apple trees, the whole place is shadowed by roses, and down from the quivering leaves, sleep of enchantment takes its grip. Therein is a meadow for horses to graze, blossoming with spring flowers, and the winds blow sweetly . . . There you, Cyprus, take the <bowl> and in golden cups gracefully pour for us, mixed with festivities (*θαλίαισι*), nectar as wine.

We are touched by poetic art in each detail: the shadows of roses, apple tree branches in the stream, and nectar mingling with festive joy. As unique as Sappho may be, she is referring to normal realities, the typical ingredients of a sanctuary—not just a temple building, but also trees, water, and altars. There are offerings to the goddess, at least frankincense, a costly oriental import and in fact quite new at Sappho's time.³⁷ Sappho does not provide a foundation myth, an example of which we could find in Alcaeus 129, as he describes the sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus by the Lesbians. For Sappho it is the presence that matters. The 'meadow where horses graze' is an uncommon addition, but as high-ranking guests are arriving from afar with carts or even on horseback, the horses need such a meadow, notwithstanding the blossoms. People may well stay overnight for a *pannychis*.³⁸ The strange *κῶμα*, enchanted sleep that 'takes its grip',³⁹ lies at the borderline of reality. While the celebrants breathe the scent of fruit and incense and listen to the rustling water and the quivering leaves, they of course also drink, served by a cup-bearer (*οἶνοχόος*); here, poetry turns into epiphany: it will be the goddess herself who pours not wine but nectar, the drink of the gods, being mixed not with water, but with *θαλίαι*, the epitome of festal experience among affluence and enjoyment. Corporality and divinity, material substrate and the unique spirit of the moment coalesce in a poetic synthesis. Aphrodite pouring nectar with *θαλίαι*—this is still more than laughing Demeter on her *halos* in

Theocritus. Meeting the divine in a moment of epiphany, absolute happiness: this is the festival; this is Sappho.

Democritus, more down to earth, pronounced: 'A life without festivals is a long journey without inns' (B 230). Ancient religion and life was well provisioned with these, where participants could feel 'like gods'.⁴⁰ Our world, in the modern pursuit of happiness, is multiplying such inns of well-being. Meeting gods is, however, becoming more and more difficult.

NOTES

1. Suffice it to refer to Ambos et al. (2005); Stavrianopoulou (2006).
2. Soden (1965–81), *isinnu*; Haldar and Furlani (1957).
3. One of the oldest accounts of a festival is Gudea's inauguration of the Ningirsu temple, Falkenstein and Soden (1953), 180 f.: Seven days of purity, equal rights for slaves, sacrifice of cattle and goats, wine libation, sounding of the great drum, a feast for the gods and the king, rejoicing at the temple. Mythical accounts: Marduk's inauguration of his temple in Babylon, *Enuma elish* vi, 7–79, Dalley (1991), 263; the festival of Allani, 'Sun of the Netherworld', for Teshub, the Hurrite Weather God, in the Hurrite-Hittite *Song of Liberation*, Neu (1996), 220–5; the beguiling of the dragon Illuyanka, Hoffner and Beckman (1990), 12.
4. Hannig (1997), 89. The word for 'festival' is *hb*, *ibid.* 520 f.; see also Altenmüller (1977).
5. Also *τεύχειν ἑορτήν*, Pl. *Resp.* 327a.
6. Genesis 23; *RE* vii 2587; *Der neue Pauly* v 219 f.
7. Joseph. *BJ* 4.533; 'terebinth' is *τέρμινθος* in Theophrastus, *Pistacia terebinthus* in botany, see *LSJ*. Joseph. *AJ* 1.186, eager to Hellenize, has *Ῥύγγη δρῦς*.—Genesis 13.18; 18.1, has plural *elonê Mamrê*; LXX has *δρῦς* (singular) in both places.
8. The decree is transmitted by Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.51–4.
9. Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984); Burkert (2003), 135–53.
10. Ov. *Met.* 8.618–724; Orion: Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984), 45–50.
11. Joseph. *AJ* 1.196–8; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 53.3.
12. Tantalus: Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984), 139–49; Pind. *Ol.* 1.47–52. Multiple 'prehistory' of Olympia: Paus. 5.7.6–8.4.
13. Tree and water are the sacralized minima of human survival, Baudy (1980), 78.
14. The stone altar shows up in Constantine's decree.
15. Oros. 7.9.3: 'praecipue ob diem festum [sc. Passah] congregatos.'
16. Ar. *Thesm.* 658. See Burkert (1985), 242–6.

17. Men. *Epit.* 451–3.
18. Ael. *VH* 4.9; Riginos (1976), 154 f.
19. Burkert (1998), 177 f.
20. Cratinus 392 K.-A.; Strabo 8.6.8; Zen. *Par.* 4.86.
21. In Greek you can say ‘to feast the festival’, *ἐορτῇν εὖωχεῖν*, Heliodor 8.7.
22. Cf. preparations of *ἱερεῖα* throughout the year for the Dionysia festival at Antissa, Arist. *Oec.* 1347a28. Athenaeus explains *εὖωχίαι* from *εὖ ἔχειν* (363 b).
23. Pl. *Leg.* 653d: *τάς τε τροφὰς γενομένας ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς μετὰ θεῶν*.
24. For changing interpretations and local stability of popular cults in Palestine cf. Colpe (1969).
25. Burkert (2003), 40.
26. Thuc. 5.23.4; Burkert (1990).
27. As Aegisthus does with Orestes at his *erotis*, Eur. *El.* 784 f.
28. Burkert in Hugger and Burkert (1987), 286 f.; Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.6.
29. Pl. *Resp.* 327 a; cf. Hdt. 2.61 on Egyptians and Carians: the same festival, but different ritual. A common festival may even be perverted into conflict and war; see Paus. 4.4.2 f. on the legendary beginnings of the Messenian Wars, or the conflict between Epidaurus and Argos, Thuc. 5.53, Auffarth (2006), 75–7. The Durkheimian thesis that rituals are mainly expressions of group solidarity may be questioned, see Auffarth (2006).
30. Rauh (1993).
31. Strabo 10.3.9, a chapter which has been traced to the philosopher Posidonius by Karl Reinhardt and Willy Theiler (we need not decide on that); Reinhardt (1928), 34–51, esp. 45 ff. (accepted by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931 ii 415); *RE* xxiii 814; Posidonius F 370 Theiler, cf. Theiler (1982), ii 287–9; it is ignored in Kidd’s edition of Posidonius *Fragments*).
32. Sen. *Tranq.* 17.7.
33. Pl. *Leg.* 653cd; quoted in Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 1, p. 55 Usener-Radermacher.
34. See also Psalm 84:11a with the strange parallel in Cic. *Tusc.* 5.5, Hommel (1968).
35. Suffice it to mention Heubeck (1984), 233–43; Seiler (1997), 111–84.
36. For the presence of Demeter on her threshing-floor, see already Hom. *Il.* 5.500 f.
37. Martinetz et al. (1989); Zwickel (1990).
38. Cf. *παννυχίξω* Sappho 23.13; 30.3.
39. Risch (1981), defending *κατάγρει*.
40. This feeling is also expressed for the festival of the Ionians at Delos in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 151 (read *ἀθάνατος* with Codex M).

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Greek Festivals and the Ritual Process

An Inquiry into the Olympia-cum-Heraia and the Great Dionysia

Synnøve des Bouvrie

PRELUDE ABOUT CULTURE

In a debate article in the *American Anthropologist*, the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth challenged his American opponent Richard Shweder, claiming that *culture* is just a subordinate aspect of human existence and that the basic fact is human actions.¹ Barth emphasizes furthermore that such actions are 'always associated with cognition, and with will and purpose'.² Richard Shweder, on the other hand, contends (in the same article) that culture is the all-pervasive dimension in human life, asserting that the notion of culture first and foremost refers to 'those ideas about what is true, good, beautiful, and efficient that are acquired by virtue of membership in some group'.³ Here we recognize the perennial controversy between the proponents of free will and those of cultural determinism.⁴

Furthermore, Barth underscores the ubiquity of variation in a population as fundamental to the study of humanity and hence the difficulty of identifying and demarcating a culture.⁵ Richard Shweder, on the contrary, claims that there are centres of culture, and 'not everything has to be shared by a group for a culture to exist. Only enough has to be shared for a people to recognize itself as a cultural community of a certain kind and for members of that community to be able to recognize each other as recipients and custodians of some imagined tradition of meaning and value'.⁶

Although I feel considerable empathy with Fredrik Barth's views, I will present my contribution on the issue of *festivals* taking the side of Richard Shweder. Acknowledging the indelible fact of human free will, my experience has taught me about the tremendous impact of culture. This is not to adhere to some cultural determinism, but to accept that we should locate culture within our nervous system.⁷ Even if we can bring our cultural norms to consciousness,⁸ they can be hard to fight, not least because we are dependent on, or make ourselves dependent on, acceptance from our fellow human beings.⁹

The whole dispute between free decision and cultural determinism overlooks, in my view, the nature of the cultural process. This process operates, to a large extent, not by rational decision making, but through the reception of images, affectively charged impressions, that are ordered by our intuition: this is our preconscious, affective, empathic ordering faculty, as opposed to logico-analytical ordering, corresponding with the right and left cerebral hemispheres.¹⁰ This dichotomy is, however, a gross simplification, because both faculties are continually called upon in our daily problem solving.¹¹

We should translate these so-called preconscious processes into the non-verbal, intuitive, imaginative, and affective ability to create symbols and into the patterning of social action in a cultural way; these activities we engage in continually and spontaneously, in some sense consciously, although not primarily in the rational mode.¹² Festivals like the Heraia or the Dionysia are not rational activities. It may be useful to consider them as part of the non-rational (as opposed to irrational in the sense of contrary to logic) cultural expressions as defined by Shweder.¹³ We make conscious decisions about how to arrange ourselves, but these decisions are in some way dictated by what we feel to be 'true, good, beautiful, and efficient'. If we accept this premise I think culture becomes considerably less mysterious, and, in particular, less deterministic and threatening to the self-conscious scholars among us.

The means of bringing our fellow human beings together, or, more specifically, the synchronization of individual action into corporate action may in the final analysis rest as well on a biological basis, as has been suggested by Eugene d'Aquili, Charles Laughlin, and John McManus. These scholars have studied our inter-organismic coordination, which has proved to operate through specific neurophysiological processes.¹⁴ Studying the tuning of human action from the perspective of neurobiology, a member of this scientific team, Barbara

Lex, has confirmed the important role that the right hemisphere plays in these processes.¹⁵

APPROACHING FESTIVALS

Having acknowledged my assumptions about the balance between individual purpose and the impact of culture, and having outlined the neurophysiological bases for culture, I will proceed to clarify some fundamental premises of social processes.

Considering the non-rational aspect of festivals, we may depart from a distinction between human activities that are instrumental and those that are expressive.¹⁶ Although all human activities may be said to be shaped in cultural forms, it is the category of expressive action that is in substance devoted to Shweder's 'ideas about what is true, good, beautiful, and efficient'. Expressive action (e.g. religion, mythology, aesthetics) is particularly apt at creating communities. Recent anthropological inquiries even depart from an understanding of aesthetic processes as forces underlying social and political life, as well as what we perceive as art, these (what we may call symbolic) processes being present in all areas of human activity, with agentic and functional, not only representational properties.¹⁷

Furthermore, we may take as a fundamental premise the human tendency to relate to a group.¹⁸ A social group is, however, not something given, in Victor Turner's view, it is rather 'fundamentally in flux'¹⁹ and has to be created and temporally recreated through various means.²⁰ Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff conceive of social processes as being a dialectical relationship between the forces of systemic maintenance and the forces of change.²¹ Social groups are continually striving for cohesion and, while acknowledging instability in social formations, the authors focus on the opposite tendency of producing rules and organizations, customs, symbols, and rituals, in 'processes of regularization'.²² We should then not conceive of social cohesion and regularity as something existing, perpetuating itself over time. According to Moore and Myerhoff, it is exactly the task of collective ceremonies to create social formations.²³ Recently, within the field of Classical studies, the role of celebrations has been emphasized as a dynamic instrument of the social process and an antidote to *stasis*, e.g. the dithyrambic contests.²⁴

Culture, however, has to do not only with human action ranging from individual choice to patterned behaviour, but with the forces of power and dominance as well. Here we may include Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of the way dominant groups tend to naturalize and in a literal sense 'inculcate, em-body, beyond the grasp of consciousness', a vision of reality that serves them best.²⁵ Bourdieu stresses the psychophysical dimension of this exercise of power in his notion of the social 'senses' that are inculcated in the course of time,²⁶ generating 'durable, transposable dispositions'; festivals being some of its instruments.²⁷ The strategic moves of the powerful should then be taken into account in our analysis of the phenomenon we are studying. How innocent were the Olympia-cum-Heraia or the Great Dionysia?

The evidence for Greek festive events has provided us with an impressive treasure of knowledge about *what* people were doing during these festive gatherings. We may, however, delve deeper into the question *why* people were doing all this. We have, after all, to confess that many Ancient festivities leave us wondering what exactly people may have meant with their arrangements: why they carried *phallos*-poles at the Dionysia,²⁸ or why they chased *pharmakoi* out of the polis at the Thargelia.²⁹ Were these customs irrational or non-rational?

When exploring the nature of festivals, we should start with terminology. The concept of *festival* (and equivalent expressions) applied in cultural studies is of course not an unequivocal notion. It is frequently employed as a generic category, and is less often given specific meaning.³⁰ The scope of interpretation may range from rites promoting fertility to the destruction of society's rules.³¹ Milton Singer includes festivals in his concept of 'cultural performance'.³² Victor and Edith Turner offer a concise analysis of what they call ritual phenomena under the heading 'Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual'.³³ Don Handelman analyses festivals together with a wide range of other concepts under the notion of 'public events'.³⁴ What then are we looking for in ancient culture?

The indigenous vocabulary offers notions such as *panegyris* or *heorte*, festive gatherings of people who are intent on enjoying themselves as well as honouring the powers of the community.³⁵ Their semantic content is, however, rather wide, and it is not coextensive with the notion of festival in a restricted sense proposed by the anthropologist John MacAloon, who defines festivals specifically as occasions of joy, offering some public 'excitement' due to an element

of 'cultural performance', implying actors and a spectatorship, while striving for some 'high purpose'.³⁶ We should therefore rather think of terms like *agon*,³⁷ *theoria*, and *thea*,³⁸ when including athletic and dramatic performances, in order to come closer to the modern notion of a festival. Robin Osborne has drawn a list of public events of this kind for Athens.³⁹ We may wonder whether the excitement and *agon* element attracted the community towards the festival's higher purpose, whether, for example, it channelled rivalry or hostility into a harmless outlet (an effect that is difficult to verify, however). I would then single out some *agones* for closer study and analyse their workings.

In order to come closer to the nature of a festival I will proceed, however, to explore the properties of festive gatherings as signalled by anthropologists, who have analysed such phenomena and drawn attention to the empirical and in particular the less verifiable strands in these arrangements, those phenomena we cannot observe directly. It is of course considerably more difficult to gather the necessary evidence in our situation, given the fact that we are studying events long gone by. The less empirical questions we ask may still be more important than those promising solid results. These questions, however, have been mostly studied under inquiries on ritual. This concept has to be understood in the widest possible sense: as bounded segments in the flow of sociocultural processes. I refer in particular to d'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus, who subsume a wide range of phenomena under the concept of ritual, reaching beyond the religious-secular dichotomy,⁴⁰ and Catherine Bell, who prefers the term 'ritualization' in order to avoid everyday associations with liturgic ritual.⁴¹

Studies of ritual offer then the most thorough inquiries into the social phenomena we wish to account for. I therefore intend to explore *the ritual process*, understood in this wide sense, while I consider it necessary to look at festivals—be they called *feste*, *Feste*, 'cultural performances', 'celebrations', 'public events', or something else—from this point of view. Festivals are first of all social ballets assembling human beings, who, in a shared choreography, act at the same time consciously (in verbal terms) and preconsciously (in visual and affective terms). The participants in this way negotiate power relationships, continually ordering and reordering society. At the same time, the ordering may tacitly exclude some groups of the community from this dynamic process.

The forms these social ballets take may be consciously organized, but in their most fundamental dimensions, I think, they are orchestrated by some preconscious sense of 'what it feels good to do'.⁴² The participants may offer an exegesis for what they are doing and why they are doing it in this way. The conscious exegesis may, however, not be the deepest motive, as Dan Sperber has argued, suggesting that we have to consider the motivation or exegesis of a symbol (myth or ritual) as part of the symbol.⁴³ I think such an assumption is fundamental to our discussion, i.e. the possibility that sociocultural arrangements may serve another aim than that which they profess to do. This is eminently expressed by Pierre Bourdieu in his concept of 'misrecognition', the way real meanings are not voiced and may even remain subliminal to the participants themselves, because these meanings belong to the realm of the undiscussed cultural conditions, and because they serve the interests of the dominant group. The way this is done is precisely by not allowing the hegemonic cultural order to reveal itself *as* established order, as invented, through the misrecognition of its own arbitrariness.⁴⁴ What, then, were the unacknowledged motives beneath the Olympia-cum-Heraia or the Great Dionysia and what was the outcome in terms of power relationships?

A more fundamental reason for why festival communities may not be able to entirely account for their own doings seems to be the nature of the cultural processes going on. In these processes symbols seem to play an important role. Symbols are in principle non-verbalized entities, and it is here in particular we meet the faculty of intuition, the visual, imaginative, and affective ordering of experience and action, which, I will argue, constitutes the basis of our human capacity for creating communities. Being both internal senses of value and order and external vehicles of these values, symbols may be observed as visual, imaginable entities, but their essence is their affective, mobilizing nature. While stimulating senses, emotions, and imagination, i.e. 'the sensory pole', at the same time they convey normative impulses, i.e. 'the ideological pole', as Victor Turner has argued so memorably in his studies of symbolism.⁴⁵ Symbolic processes embrace the synchronization of action according to Victor Turner, who found, in the volume edited by d'Aquili, Laughlin, and McManus, a physiological confirmation of his anthropological conclusions on ritual and symbolic action.⁴⁶

Turner has examined the way communities engage in sensory-stimulating behaviour, e.g. music, singing, dancing, and extraordinary

dressings, as well as physiologically and emotionally stirring symbols, while imperceptibly communicating basic normative strands of culture. These symbolic vehicles, or collective representations, may convey the sense of 'what is true, good, beautiful, and efficient' in a given group embracing these symbols.

It is the externalization of social sentiments in the urge to synchronize them with others that lies behind the development of rituals understood in this sense. One of their modes may be consciously verbal and declarative, but their primary mode is physical, imaginative, and affective in manifestations of collective movement in parades and processions, in general in synchronization and tuning, in symbolic action and expression. It is therefore reasonable to assume that their ordering is going on intuitively, the deepest urges being hidden beneath a sense of 'what it feels good to do'. What *in casu* were the workings of sensory stimulation in the Olympia-cum-Heraia or the Great Dionysia and what norms were charged during these festivals?

Concentrating on the most characteristic phase of 'rituals', *liminality*, Victor and Edith Turner summarize its properties and notice the range of solemn or hilarious expressions that may manifest themselves on such occasions.⁴⁷ They observe the serious 'communication of "sacra"', which brings the community back to first principles and mythical narratives, during which, however, the heroes frequently transgress the moral order of society. Here we may think of tragedy! On the other hand, hilarious reversals of the normal order may occur as well as 'ludic recombination'.⁴⁸ This type of transgression suggests the absurd world of comedy. Turner and Turner draw attention to the socially creative potential of liminal expression.⁴⁹

DEFINING FESTIVALS

How we should define festivals more specifically should now be brought under scrutiny. Relying on the insights on rituals and symbolic processes, we may proceed to the definition of *festivals* that has been offered by John MacAloon. In a volume about cultural performance, the editor defines these phenomena as 'occasions in which as a culture or society we reflect upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives,

and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others'.⁵⁰

In ordinary usage the concept of festival implies a preliminary programme, which may be based on a real or imagined and invented tradition.⁵¹ The participants gather as insiders, sometimes attracting outsiders, and intuitively shape the form of the programme. How this is done remains quite mysterious, although attempts have been made by the anthropologist Don Handelman to trace the 'emergence' of 'public events'.⁵²

Handelman focuses on the sequential organization of public events noticing that they follow a design, as well as assuming an intention, even if this cannot be made explicit by the participants.⁵³ This notion of the design of a public event is to be taken in a wide sense, according to Handelman, who emphasizes that 'the design of an event is also its passions'(!).⁵⁴ Public events structure the moods and sentiments of the participants in an orchestration of experience and affect.⁵⁵

MacAloon likewise emphasizes the role of 'excitement' in the festive occasion. This 'mobilized attention' will vary with the occasion and the symbols communicated.⁵⁶ He identifies in fact genres of mood emerging in concentric circles around the core of the cultural performance, including genres like 'rite, drama, game, festival and spectacle'.⁵⁷ MacAloon contrasts the genres *festival* and *spectacle*, arguing that while both are 'mega-genres', a festival evokes a joyous atmosphere and engages its participants in a 'reliable' mood around its well defined programme.⁵⁸ The mood of a spectacle, on the contrary, is more unpredictable: a 'diffuse wonder or awe', with an emphasis on sight, its spectatorship is optional and dispassionate. While spectacles manifest 'tastelessness', as well as intellectual and moral ambiguity tending to 'gigantism', festivals aim at balance and harmony, in keeping with their 'high purpose'. In 'spectacles' the roles of actors and spectators are clearly separate, while there is not such a marked distance in a festival.⁵⁹ In phases of 'ritual' (here understood in a restricted, though not necessarily religious, sense) the mood of festivals is lifted to a yet higher level embracing the 'transcendental ground' of the community.⁶⁰ By observing living cultures, MacAloon concludes that during the cultural performance, symbolic elements contribute to shifting the mood according to the 'prescribed' mood of the festival.⁶¹

We may thus loosely conceive of festivals as cultural performances orchestrated, in some sense intuitively, into a programme of (mainly)

joyous events, including one that creates excitement, the festival performance in MacAloon's sense. Defined as instruments of culture, festivals draw actors and audiences into their magnetic centre by way of various collective acts and symbols, as well as ordering and modulating those present into engaged participation. The programme directs the participants towards its higher purpose, and some phases may strike the ritual chords of the community's transcendental ground, while unnoticed workings of power may enter into the arrangement. It is 'the mobilization of attention'⁶² in a joyous and engaged atmosphere that is achieved through various performative genres: with their specific prescribed sentiments and symbolic magnets, these may be considered the essence of festivals. At its outer border, utterly profane and lucrative elements may intrude, while the joyous festival spell may become endangered by the disruptive mood of a spectacle. I will, however, apply the term *festival* to an overall cultural performance including a phase of festival performance as understood by MacAloon.

GREEK FESTIVALS

We should now proceed to examining some Greek festivals. An initial question should be to ask *who* constitutes the festive community. Here we may at the outset remind ourselves of the distinction between, on the one hand, native or ancestral festivities, celebrations devoted to Olympian divinities or local heroes and heroines, and on the other hand exotic celebrations. These distinctions, I assume, have something to do with ethnic identity and the sense of local membership.

Some of these festivities may have fostered distinctions between the cultural in-group and outsiders, creating the Other while strengthening Ourselves. Or they may have contributed to integrating opposite ethnic groups. As an exceptional arrangement, in the fifth century BC a festival with a torch race was held for Bendis in the Piraeus, 'a bipolar organization',⁶³ where native Athenians, *epikhorioi*, as well as immigrants from Thrace participated in the procession.⁶⁴ Similarly, double *naiskoi* for the Mother are found in Attica, witnessing 'a double process of integration and distinction', as Philippe Borgeaud expresses the phenomenon.⁶⁵ Normally, celebrations seem to have included

a more homogenous participation, even if this might be the result of previous conflict, as has been demonstrated by Barbara Kowalzig.⁶⁶

These festivals included secular as well as sacred activities (according to everyday definitions). A number of them offered not only a sacrificial programme at its centre, but also extensive contests laid out, sometimes literally around the altar, as a major element in the celebrations. When ordering the layout of the festival space, Greek communities focused on the core of the celebration, its divine cult personae and its ritual phase, its 'transcendental ground'. Often these occasions included appropriate tales of origin, aetiological myths, and visual imagery. John Herington has drawn attention to the widespread role of choral and other performances attendant upon religious celebrations, and their function has recently been examined in a number of studies.⁶⁷

At the outer limits of these festivals, markets and fairs might develop, attracting the festive community.⁶⁸ The result would be a complex range of activities ordered into concentric frames of attention and excitement around the elevated core activity, as identified by MacAloon: rite, festival, and spectacle.⁶⁹

The spatial mapping of the festive area was complemented by the temporal arrangement of the festival programme. This programme might evolve in a succession of shifting moods and sentiments, guided by symbolic, that is, imaginative and affective stimulants. It is this aspect of those events which we might label festivals that I would like to concentrate upon.

All these elements conveniently guided the assembled community in their sense of the proper things to do, the sense of what is 'true, good, beautiful, and efficient', and should be subsumed under the concept of *symbolism*, the expressive, and artistic (and religious) components of the celebration. The sensory and imaginative phenomena were created as signals evoking a collective reaction mobilizing a community, by the synchronization or tuning of the participants. As the interpenetration of the sensory and the normative is the essence of their workings, the whole event could develop into a grand cultural performance. What is important not to forget is that the overall arrangement may have carried a comprehensive meaning, even if people did not realize their deepest urges themselves. Fritz Graf has laid bare the logic of processions, arguing that those *pompai*, that led from the periphery to the polis centre were a 'display and confirmation of the civic order', while those *pompai* leaving the polis centre and

marching to the periphery (centrifugal *pompai*) were dissolving social hierarchies.⁷⁰ Should we assume that the communities arranging the processions were aware of these correspondences?

There are other examples of (spontaneous?) choreography in festive arrangements. It is well documented that a number of celebrations passed through a programme of affective states, as for example the Thesmophoria, which included a central day of fasting and lament, while at another moment ritual obscenity was expected, evoking hilarity; these affective states being 'explained' in the Homeric hymn to Demeter.⁷¹ The Eleusinian Mysteries, whose goal, we may assume, was the sentiment of bliss, included a period of fasting and gloom, followed by the *gephurismos*, ritual mockery and laughter on the Cephissus bridge.⁷² During the Dionysia a phase of ritual abuse, *thotasmós*, would occur rousing laughter among the bystanders,⁷³ giving way to more serious moods in the festival programme, and a number of comparable examples may be found. Through the appropriate symbolic means, a phase of gloom and guilt might be invoked in advance of the joyful celebration. In a protracted programme of shifting moods, the Spartans celebrated their Hyacinthia, Gymnopaediai, and Carneia, starting with a stifling atmosphere of grief and renunciation and ending in an exuberant manifestation of rejoicing and abundance. Polycrates' account, found in Athenaeus,⁷⁴ describes a sequence of mourning for Hyacinthus, *penthos*, followed by joy, *khara*, and joyous mass festivity.⁷⁵ Other examples of such modulation of sentiments are a number of festivities devoted to Zeus Polieus, Zeus Soter, and Zeus Sosipolis.⁷⁶

After these general and comparative *prolegomena*, I will turn to the two particular Greek festivals: the Olympia followed by the Heraia in venerable Elis and the Dionysia in Athens. Although they were named after their central divine foci, (Zeus) Olympius and Dionysus (Eleuthereus), the massive energy that was lavished on these arrangements was spent on the athletic and dramatic *agones*. Both festival programmes followed a definite succession of phases, characterized by contrasting affective states or sentiments.

The pervasive element of competition in athletic as well as theatre contests emphasizes their paradigmatic relationship. Along the syntagmatic axis these festivals followed a certain sequence of activities, ordered in successive phases (although the order of the activities might vary): preparations, procession, sacrifice and banquet, *agon*, and closure. Dramatic and athletic contests were interchangeable in

the *agon* phase in the programme of these cultural performances.⁷⁷ At a deeper level, however, the two performance genres sprung from widely different sentiments; there is a fundamental difference between phases with a laudatory mood during, for example, an epinician performance,⁷⁸ and those with a disruptive mood in dramatic performances with their tragic or comic *fascinations*. Festivals not only served the community that organized them, but created 'an alternative social network' connecting communities. The network of festivals seems to have served practical and political ends as well, offering points of temporal reference in regulating inter-polis war treaties and intra-polis census organization.⁷⁹

THE FESTIVALS AT OLYMPIA

The athletic festival of the Olympia was considered the most prestigious of all sacred *agones*. Its prestige seems to have been at its summit in the Late Archaic and Early Classical age and I will concentrate upon this period. The festival attracted athletes from the entire Hellenic world, competing for the status as *olympionikes*. The journey to Olympia we may identify as a collective pilgrimage, understood as a strenuous journey to a sacred place, embodying a culturally validated ideal.⁸⁰ According to the anthropologist Alan Morinis, 'massing pilgrimages often take the form of processions, which transform movement from a functional, physiological act into a cultural performance', which reminds us of the (male) participants assembling in Elis before the great event, and marching in procession to the central sanctuary of Zeus and Hera.⁸¹ Whether the female celebration at the Heraia entailed a similar journey is not clear. The male *agon* was held at the first full moon after the summer solstice, and included a wide range of athletic events; the female *agones* were celebrated in the same space, at another time of the year, and on a more modest scale.⁸²

The pilgrimage or sacred journey should not be understood in the sense restricted to the major universal religions or the spiritual well-being of the individual. Sacred journeys may include communities and may organize groups into wandering to a religious centre in order to obtain both consciously identified as well as unobserved aims. Collective sacred journeys may attract groups that are in conflict, and pilgrimage

groups do not necessarily constitute a homogeneous community. Hence, social conflict does not exclude ritual collaboration.⁸³

Seen within the framework of collective pilgrimages, the festivals at Olympia manifest a complex ritual process, generating symbols and modulating sentiments. As the participants drew near the sacred space, they prepared for a 'synchronization of individual action into corporate action' and 'mobilization of attention'. Whether the ultimate aim was a higher purpose remains to be seen.

The Olympia fostered, in particular, male excellence; there was a marked focus on martial virtues, the sanctuary being in fact the centre of war mantics,⁸⁴ and a prominent space for exhibiting martial success, witnessed by the number of war votives.⁸⁵

The female contests were probably celebrated somewhat later during the same summer; they were held in honour of Hera and Hippodameia and focused on marriage.⁸⁶ At some occasion, women celebrated a rite for Sosipolis within the shrine of Eileithyia in the Altis,⁸⁷ the infant that was laid before the attacking army; he transformed himself into a snake and scared the enemy into fleeing. In addition, on the eve of the Olympia, women celebrated a mourning rite at the grave of Achilles in the *gymnasion* of Elis, thus marking their participation in the overall male celebration.⁸⁸ Adult females, according to Pausanias, were debarred from the Olympia, with the threat of being thrown from Mount Tropaion. And all females were forbidden to proceed beyond the stone *prothysis* of Zeus' ash altar, only men being allowed access to its top.⁸⁹

The topographical arrangement with the Hera and Zeus temples in juxtaposition seems to confirm a hypothesis of a festive space in which the worlds of women and men were anchored as well as strictly separated. The sanctuary at Olympia was surrounded with a number of metaphysical protections, taboos,⁹⁰ and miracles,⁹¹ elevating the centre to its supreme status within the Hellenic world. A particularly revealing detail is the 'fact', recorded since Herodotus, that mules and horses cannot breed in Elis.⁹² Therefore, it seems that Olympia guaranteed pure categorization and perfection.

Sherry Ortner's heuristic distinction between 'elaborating' and 'summarizing' symbols may be appropriate here. While the first primarily serve cognitive ends, the last have affective force. Summarizing symbols carry the core values of a group, charging them with intense power, and mobilizing various, even conflicting, parties into sharing loyalty to the symbol, thus assembling people. Elaborating

symbols, on the other hand, are less charged with affect; they classify experience into separate categories and 'root metaphors' and offer 'key scenarios' for socially approved action, thus splitting the community into divisions.⁹³

Olympia seems to have been the only athletic festival site combining female as well as male contests. The female contributions and restrictions, the celebration of the Heraia, the male competitions at the Olympia, and the overall arrangement and layout of the festive space suggest that some of the meanings of the festival were to celebrate the categories of female and male nature, offering *elaborating symbols* in Sherry Ortner's terms, i.e. key scenarios for femaleness and maleness in Greek culture.

In a concrete and physical form, these festive acts embodied the essence and value of gender, charging the symbols of marriage/motherhood as well as those of warfare/athletics. Females celebrated Hippodameia's marriage, males evoked Pelops' athletic feat, both commemorated in the pediment of Zeus' temple. The base of Zeus' throne was adorned with pairs of male and female, underscoring gender identity, in particular in the figures of Hestia and Hermes, according to Jean Pierre Vernant.⁹⁴ By establishing the difference between the *stadion* length for female and male sprint courses on the same track,⁹⁵ the arrangements inculcated imperceptibly the difference in power and prestige between the two genders.

Furthermore, we may argue that the festival of Zeus Olympius harboured the central *summarizing symbol* of the Hellenic world as well. Centring on the ash altar of the supreme authority in the divine world, the all-inclusive pilgrimage attracted participation from the widest possible catchment area in the Hellenic world. The fact that Pelops was a foreigner arriving from Phrygia may support the notion of an all-including pilgrimage cult, avoiding ancestral cults which privilege local traditions.⁹⁶ In fact, the whole sanctuary constituted a cosmic topography and chronography: in Olympia the worlds of the Olympian gods and mankind met; and starting with the presence of primordial Cronus and Meter, time was reckoned by the *olympionikai* of the *stadion* sprint.⁹⁷ Celebrating the winning athlete and his polis, Olympia ranked the participating Hellenic community. With its subtle regulations, however, Olympia excluded non-native Hellenes, *nothoi*, and probably unfree athletes, creating distinctions between Hellenes and non-Hellenes, and thus harnessing the power relationships in society.⁹⁸

We may still ask what were the *higher purposes* or perhaps the *transcendental ground* of the festival? We should not let ourselves be distracted by the fact that the athletic events were first and foremost entertaining, and think instead of the well-known study on the Balinese cockfight analysed by Clifford Geertz, where most of the competitions were secular manifestations of excitement and the wish for gain. He identifies, however, some phases in the contest that transcended the mundane sensations of suspense and greed, in which the essence of Balinese culture emerged, drawing the participants and audience into an elevated state of cultural sentiment.⁹⁹ In a comprehensive study of (contemporary) classical Chinese opera the British anthropologist Barbara Ward recognized moments of intense, quasi-religious fascination, within the spectacular performances, identifying core symbols of Chinese culture emerging in an otherwise secular event. The fact then that these performances and competitions are artistic and entertaining does not preclude their involvement in deep-founded cultural processes.¹⁰⁰

We do not know the exact proceedings of the athletic contests, but the overall festival seems to have been subject to a detailed modulation of sentiments. After preparations in Elis, the participants marched to Olympia in a *pompe*. At the beginning of the male festival the athletes and their trainers had to swear an oath to abide by the rules, before the frightening statue of Zeus Horcius, who carried a thunderbolt in each hand.¹⁰¹ Raoul Lonis has argued that even if the participants might be in a state of mutual hostility or even war, in doing so they promised to respect the common rules of the *agon*.¹⁰² The very fact that the festival was introduced by the *ekekheiria*, a period of *asulia* and *asphaleia*,¹⁰³ protecting the pilgrims, suggests that the parties were not drawn together by mutual solidarity.

Describing the festival sentiments upon arrival, Philostratus notes that 'whenever the *theoroi* of the Hellenes were welcomed, the runners ran a *stadion* length from the altar and back again, announcing that *Hellas had arrived in joy*'.¹⁰⁴ Even if this is a late testimony, it may convey something of the general mood and exemplify the higher purpose of the festival.

Pausanias mentions the sacrifice at the great altar of Zeus. He recalls that on the eve an *enagisma* was held for Pelops at the hero's grave, a black ram sacrificed at night. Without going into details I would draw attention to the fact that this pattern of a minor sacrifice held at the *grave* of a hero seems to serve to modulate the sentiments

of the festival phase. This 'antithesis within the ritual', in Burkert's phrase, seems to be a pervasive pattern.¹⁰⁵ It has commonly been studied as marking the kind of power addressed or the force of the ritual act. It seems, however, that we have to focus on the sacrificing community and the situation demanding such special action.¹⁰⁶

In a study on sacrifice, Victor Turner has emphasized the contrast between renunciatory and festive sacrifice, suggesting that symbols of the grave allude to decay; renunciatory sacrifice implies a 'joyless sacrifice', with such gestures of abandonment indicating the need to heal conflict.¹⁰⁷

The relationship between the sacrifice at Pelops' grave and the great communal sacrifice points to a sequence of prescribed sentiments, where the grave may be a metaphor of gloom and guilt in a community ridden with strife. I suggest that far from assembling as a peaceful gathering of solidary groups, the Olympian pilgrims had to be forged into some kind of ephemeral community in order to be prepared to join in a ritual collaboration. Before meeting in the grand joyous festive sacrifice for Zeus, the collected Hellenes had to perform a renunciatory act, i.e. a joyless sacrifice, and give up the feelings of mutual antagonism they brought to the festival.¹⁰⁸ The climax of the Olympia proclaimed the victorious athletes in a grand celebration. Nowhere in the Hellenic world were they met with greater glory, the status of *olympionikai* lifting them beyond the level of mundane existence. Apart from the honours and privileges lavished upon them at homecoming, the victory awarded them the right to an *eiselasis* in their home polis: the citizens tore down part of the city walls in order to welcome their exceedingly successful fellow citizen. Currie argues for the view that a number of athletes were heroized, a phenomenon that was prominent in the fifth century BC.¹⁰⁹

The whole celebration did not merely offer honour and glory to the victorious athletes and their home polis. Arriving home the victors were accompanied to the sanctuary where they dedicated their victory crowns and could be hailed by Pindar's *epinikia*. These odes brought their addressee to the *eschatia* of the world, to Heracles' columns and furthest regions, and lifted them to the highest peak of achievement. Merging them into the world of mythical heroes, the *epinikion* transformed the victorious athlete into an exceptional state of being. I will suggest that the *olympionikes* was, in Victor Turner's terms, ritually transferred into a *liminal* stage, a realm 'betwixt and between' human and divine. And I will even maintain that the *olympionikes* was

transformed into the vehicle of the summarizing symbol of the Hellenic world, assembling the peak values of Hellenic excellence.¹¹⁰ In spite of social inequalities, the *agon* welcomed all citizens of Hellenic communities, offering a wide range of contests: chariot and horse races for the wealthy, gymnastic events and combat exercises for the less fortunate, sprint and pentathlon for the speedy and supple, and the *hoplitodromos* for the strong and courageous. Uniting the complex and heterogeneous assembly of Hellenes, the symbol encompassed intricate and competing ingredients: male beauty and vitality, brutal strength and courage, (inherited) wealth and personal achievement.

Completing his victorious mission, the Hellenic athlete carried his crown, the glowing symbol of supreme Hellenic excellence, to the local shrine in his polis, be it the centre or an outpost of the Hellenic world, thus charging this world with vital Hellenic ethnicity.

Touching the transcendental ground of the Hellenic community, as I suggest, the festival mobilized the attention of the widest possible membership, engaging the participants in various excitements and sentiments. Imperceptibly and perhaps unconsciously they let themselves be affected by physical movement, images, and imaginative tales, symbolizing their paramount values and ideal social order. Meeting across social barriers—aristocrats and democrats alike—and competing in disparate events, they were united in the summarizing symbol of their cultural community. Imperceptibly, as well, the workings of power operated at these festive occasions, excluding those who were not entitled to marriage and those not given access to the *gymnasion*.¹¹¹

THE FESTIVAL OF THE GREAT DIONYSIA

We may contrast the festival complex of the Olympia-cum-Heraia with the Great Dionysia in Athens. The Dionysia likewise meant a massive gathering around a cultural performance, focusing attention on an exciting programme of competitions. Although it was open to Athenian insiders as well as outsiders, the festival organized by officials and *khoregoi* invited in the first place strongly committed citizens. By including status groups outside the active citizen body, such as *metoikoi* and women, in the celebration, the social hierarchy

was mapped in a subtle, symbolic way.¹¹² Like the *Olympia*, the *Dionysia* revealed its exclusive character on the arena of festival performance, and so, we may assume, generated the group commitment that qualified it as a festival, in MacAloon's terms.

The festival was launched with specific symbolic gestures in the form of the introduction of *phallos*-poles, *ta phallephoria*, and ritual abuse, *tothasmos*.¹¹³ According to Susan Guettel Cole, both 'created a boundary for the duration of the festival, one that separated theatrical experience from the aggressive competition of politics'. The phallic symbol thus signalled a festive period during which freedom of speech was guaranteed, to the *phallophoroi* in the first place, and harming anybody out of personal grudges was prohibited.¹¹⁴ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood likewise suggests that the movement of the statue to the Academy and the ithyphallic performance introduced a period of abnormality.¹¹⁵ Far from being an instrument of fertility, as is often assumed, the symbol vehicle created a festival mood and thus served a collective, not an individual need. Jeffrey Henderson's assumption that in Dionysiac contexts the social control mechanisms normally surrounding the sexual organ might have been relaxed,¹¹⁶ may likewise be interpreted as serving the community's device for creating a general upheaval of cultural norms and inhibitions. In its grotesquely disproportionate size the *phallos* signalled the liminal break in the stream of communal life. In this respect the Dionysiac festival manifested a radically different variant of the festival genre. In contrast, in the sanctuary of Zeus and Hera there was no theatre, nor any room for Dionysiac upheaval.

Attracting the entire community to its magnetic centre, the theatre festival created a liminal atmosphere modulating the programme in a succession of affective phases. I will argue for the viewpoint that we cannot leave out from our festival analysis the modulation of the participants' reactions into prescribed sentiments or *fascinations* at the theatre phase.

We should realize that the phenomena we are discussing originate in some deeply human urge, which makes them take shape in a certain number of forms that may be related to the nature of the society creating them. These assumptions have been worked out by Handelman. He observed that there are global correlations between various forms of festivities, or *public events*, and types of societies.¹¹⁷ In tribal and traditional societies one may typically find public events that 'model' the participants, bringing about some

kind of transformation; in bureaucratic states, such events will tend to mirror (or present) the ideals of society in massive parades proclaiming civic order. In more complex traditional, hierarchic societies, public events may 're-present' the lived-in world, by overturning that world through licence, disorder, play, and inversion. It is in the latter category, to which carnival and mummery belong, that Handelman would locate festival.¹¹⁸ This typology may seem too schematic and more indicative of the purpose and mood of various public gatherings. We should, however, include these suggestions in our inquiry on the theatre.

As a public event in Handelman's sense, the Dionysia followed a sequence of phases, from processions and sacrificial ritual through public ceremonies to a complex festival performance orchestrated into well-defined moods: the massive choral enthusiasm and the dramatic performances with their specific fascinations.

In order to understand this festival we must once more consider its *design* in the widest possible sense. We may adduce Handelman's distinction between public events that model or transform the lived-in world, those that mirror or present its ideal image, and those that re-present or overturn that world through licence and disorder.

It seems that these categories may be applied to the various phases of the Dionysiac festival. In the first part of the festival those well-known ceremonies were performed, honouring the city's benefactors and providing the sons of fallen citizens with their armament. In the latter part of the fifth century BC the tribute collected from Athens' allied cities was displayed, while the *strategoï* poured libations on behalf of the polis. Such a demonstration of power and excellence undoubtedly proclaimed the civic order of the polis in a parade mirroring the ideal Athenian polis.¹¹⁹

In the subsequent phase, choruses of men and boys performed, their competition being organized in tribes. Zimmermann characterizes the dithyramb performances as a polis genre par excellence, evoking a patriotic mood.¹²⁰ As an anthropologist studying the Dionysia, Don Handelman has drawn attention to the social meaning of this arrangement. 'Within the festival model the lower level of tribes took apart the State symbolically during the dithyramb contest, while this opposition was contained by the pristine impartiality of the higher State level.' By its very organization the community moved from a competitive dithyrambic contest, splitting the polis into its constituent parts, the tribes, to a dramatic performance unifying the

disjoint parts of the community, the polis thus recreating and revitalizing itself. During the dramatic contests 'the State constructed itself as superior, judicial, and impartial in relation to its parts, the tribes'.¹²¹ In this sense he considers the core of the festival an instance for transforming and modelling the participating community in definite ways.¹²² If this organization contributed to strengthening the coherence of the Attic citizenship, we certainly should identify here the *higher purpose* of the festival.

Considering the dramatic programme in which the Great Dionysia culminated, however, I would suggest that the main phase of the festival re-presented the lived-in world, staging a universe of licence and inversion of the social order. This staging of a chaotic and disrupted world is not to be conceived of as an invitation to critical reflection on the values of the community, as is usually done;¹²³ rather, it is an immediate attack on the cultural sensibilities of the participants.¹²⁴

The dramatic competition was organized in a highly rule-bound manner and was structured into the well known genres of comedy, tragedy, and satyr drama. Although the dramatic programme presented ever-unique plots, the sentiments evoked were highly traditional, and we may study them as part of the prescribed sentiments or *fascinations* of the festival. These fascinations were part of the meaning of the performances, a fact that we have to take into account in our interpretation of single dramatic works.

In the so-called *Fasti* inscription recording the dramatic victories, chorus song, comedy, and tragedy are mentioned in that order.¹²⁵ If this was the case, we may assume that the comic performances intensified the general mood of disorder of the festival. Not only did Old Comedy disrupt the natural and social order, 'juggling with the factors of existence',¹²⁶ it inverted social hierarchies as that of god over man, free over slave, male over female. Laughter has to be included in our interpretation of these performances, being a reaction of rejection in front of the absurd and intolerable events on stage. This hilarity implied and arose from a shared universe of values. In addition, according to the interpretation of the comic genre presented by Markus Asper, this phase created a 'joking relationship' among the audience evoking a 'collective laughter' in the citizen community, laughing at the powerful and chastising deviant behaviour.¹²⁷

In order to come to grips with the nature of the tragic part of the festival, I will draw attention to the way Bruce Kapferer has studied

ritual processes in which the programme is modulated into shifting phases of intensity and involving the audience to various degrees of reflexivity. Following the psychologist Thomas Scheff,¹²⁸ he emphasizes that the performance may create a condition of over-distancing in which the participants keep at a distance from the ritual drama, or a condition of under-distancing, during which the participants lose a sense of self-awareness being absorbed into the dramatic events. There is a midway situation in the aesthetic distancing which causes disturbing reactions, but leaves the audience in control.¹²⁹

I will argue that the Attic theatre performances guided the audience through such a succession of affective states. These fascinations were stirred by the comic and the tragic genres respectively, comedy producing a state of over-distancing, tragedy a strong under-distancing, the satyr drama leaving the audiences at an aesthetic distance of the threatening events. It seems then that the essence of the Dionysiac performance was the structuring of the audience's sentiments along these complementary fascinations: comic v. tragic. In a manner described by Victor Turner, both the sensory and the ideological poles were stimulated, while during the tragic phase the heroes of myth transgressed the moral order.¹³⁰ The tragic performances like the comic created a disrupted world, evoking tragic 'shock and horror' (in Aristotle's terms), reactions of rejection in the face of the horrifying events. It is my contention that these tragic reactions were reflexes of cultural shock, again implying common basic cultural values.

Through the visual and verbal attacks affecting the senses and emotions of the participants ran normative charges concerning the institutional values of the polis. The reactions to comedy and tragedy were culturally conditioned responses to the upsetting of the world order. The tragic events presented concrete destinies, each a unique development of the hero's or heroine's passionate striving, they were threatening and horrifying. Underlying these dramatic fates, a tragic violation of institutional values occurred. With this genre it is at the level of deep-seated and institutional values that the liminal disruption operates. While focusing on Medea's passionate struggle, the audience was imperceptibly invaded by the horrific disruption of Jason's *oikos*: the final extinction of his family line.¹³¹ Following the sorrowful destiny of the Trojan women, the audience was attacked by the inversion of the normal world order of the polis: the absence of warriors to protect their women. Helen's fate in Egypt violated the

female norms of respectable marriage, restoring the disrupted order in the end. Heracles' absence and mad rage violated the norms of warriorship. Hippolytus and Phaedra's crisis inverted the proper norms for male and female sexuality. While Antigone's fate absorbed the audience, the violation of the norm demanding respect for deceased *philoï* triggered the tragic 'shock and horror' rejecting this violation, and so implicitly reinforced the norm.¹³²

This tragic theatre, while presenting an exquisitely artistic and infinitely varied composition, attacked its audience, then, at a subliminal level, violating the world order and the axiomatic value complexes of the Attic polis: the existence of the *oikos* through the succession of the family line, monogamous marriage, respect for one's *philoï*, and so forth; and on the other hand the existence of the polis through warfare and respect for the social and religious order.¹³³ Aristotle supports this hypothesis: in his *Poetics* he argues that not just any kind of violence will generate tragic shock and horror, only violence involving *philoï* will. From this Aristotelian claim it appears that tragedy arises out of the disruption of the bond of *philia*.¹³⁴ I will argue that a wider range of fundamental values are involved, and the way they are violated creates the disorder specific to tragedy. Listening to the tragic outcries and abstracting from the concrete events in the dramas, we can surmise what institutional values were disrupted. The prescribed sentiments evoked during this phase of the festival should then be included as integrated to the meaning of the dramas.

The softening phase of satyr drama, it seems, evoked sentiments of humour, at the foibles of these anti-types. Still even this genre manipulated standard norms and values of the community. In the interpretation of Mark Griffith the (citizen) audience experienced a collective self-presentation, identifying both with the elite heroes and the lower-status satyr choruses. By splitting audience identification, the citizens were drawn towards higher and lower extremes of normal adult limits, thus reinforcing the '(implicit) standards of proper civic performance'.¹³⁵

We may expect the *transcendental ground* of the community to be interwoven with the entertaining performances.

The comic genre, even if it staged living fellow human beings, by hurling them into a weightless never-world, distanced the audience from the events. While the tragic events evoked a distant mythical past, the genre's specific mode, with its inescapable chain of events

and an inexorable Aisa (Destiny) tracking down its victim, created an atmosphere of under-distancing, gripping the audience. The workings of *eleos* and *phobos*, emphasized by Aristotle, are to be understood within this context.¹³⁶

The dramatic performances exploded the normal social order, provoking the audience's sense of cultural values and in this way revitalizing those very values and their key cultural symbols, that is the sense of 'what is true, good, beautiful, and efficient' in Shweder's terms.

CONCLUSIONS

Summing up, I think we have reason to take courage. Ancient festivals were exotic, yet they were not irrational or incomprehensible. If we understand their non-rational essence, their ritual nature, and their symbolism, and view them as intuitively orchestrated 'social ballets', much more can be understood and investigated. Not only the cultic phases of the festivals, but the festival performance phases as well, the athletic or dramatic *agones*, may be said to have been part of a ritual process in the wide sense: both exhibit signs of liminality, the Olympia in particular by transferring the (male) winners into a status betwixt and between human and heroic existence, the Great Dionysia by creating a universe of disorder both outside and inside the theatre, and so implicitly generating or regenerating a shared cultural order. In addition to their joyous, entertaining atmosphere, offering the excitement of the event, the *agones* then mobilized attention in cultural ways. Through symbolic gestures these *agones* evoked prescribed sentiments and fascinations, literally embodying the transcendental grounds or institutional values of the celebrating community into the nervous system of their audiences.

The festival of the Olympia synchronized the participants, however divided and discordant, into some sense of a common destiny, the ultimate value of Hellenism. While lavishing extreme honour upon concrete winners, the festive community transformed them into liminal beings, vehicles of the key summarizing symbol of Hellenic ethnicity: glorious male vitality. In addition, the extended festival complex embraced male and female rites and symbolic gestures. Hence, the Olympia-cum-Heraia created the key elaborating symbols

of the Hellenic world, male as well as female 'nature'; by establishing categoric distinctions and 'key scenarios', through physical action, imagery, and myth, the approved paths for male and female life were staked out.

The Great Dionysia guided the community through a sequence of festival phases, from Dionysiac upheaval to patriotic pride, generating 'prescribed sentiments' by way of their specific workings. In the performance phase, the festival staged objects of collective fascination, comic and tragic (as well as satyric) inversions of social hierarchies, basic institutional values (and civic identities) of the Athenian *politai*. The workings of these dramatic phases, generating laughter and 'shock and horror' respectively, aimed at rejecting these violations of the normal order. While attracting the attention to individual destinies, tragic drama achieved unnoticed its end by provoking the audience's cultural sentiments: the dramatic events exposed them to the violation of *philia*; the extinction of the descent line; the absence of the protective warrior; the disruption of female chastity and marital fidelity; or the subversion of some social or cultic order. Through these provocations, the audience's sense for their cultural values was revitalized, and we have to include these workings in our interpretation of single dramas.

Meanwhile, the strategic arrangements of these powerful festival agents and audiences were less innocuous than their joyous mood might suggest. While attracting attention to the exciting outcomes of the *agones*, the arrangements imperceptibly served to exclude the non-mentioned categories of human beings from acting in the performance, and from society's privileged positions.¹³⁷

NOTES

1. Borofsky et al. (2001).
2. Borofsky et al. (2001), 435. In a recent interview, Fredrik Barth (2006), 19, expresses the view that 'he does not believe that people let themselves be governed by fixed norms and rules, he believes that most of us are opportunists, and that we act out of self-interest. Neither Norwegians nor the inhabitants of Swat are slaves of their culture'.
3. Borofsky et al. (2001), 439.
4. Cf. Bourdieu (1977), 73.
5. Borofsky et al. (2001), 436.

6. Borofsky et al. (2001), 439. Countering allegations of believing in cultural homogeneity, Shweder maintains that culture 'does not imply the absence of debate, contestation, or dispute among members of a group'.
7. Observing culture from a sociological perspective, Bourdieu (1977) 124, assumes the workings of 'practice' and 'the socially informed body . . . its tastes and distastes, its compulsions and repulsions'.
8. This is not obvious. For this reason I agree in particular with Shweder's claim that 'not every item of culture is in the possession or *consciousness* of every member of that culture' (my emphasis) (Borofsky et al. 2001, 439).
9. Investigating the nature of religion, Kenelm Burridge observes that society generates 'sets of moral imperatives, obligations, and rules of conduct to which men, because they live in community, subject themselves'. Religion being 'the systematic ordering of different kinds of power', Burridge assumes some basic principle underlying religion and the human condition in general, a 'redemptive process', that is, 'the process whereby individuals attempt to discharge their obligations in relation to the moral imperatives of the community' (Burridge 1971, 5–6).
10. I refer to a comprehensive study by Tony Bastick, who defines this human ability to recognize similarities and dissimilarities as a fundamental aptness at complex problem solving. The intuitive faculty is associated with the right hemisphere, the imaginative, affective, and preconscious side of the brain, while the logico-analytical faculty belongs to the left, conscious hemisphere (Bastick 1982, 2, 51).
11. Bastick (1982), 51; cf. Lex (1979), 125; d'Aquili and Laughlin (1979), 174.
12. This runs contrary to Freud's thesis, who located what he called 'primary process' images in our dreaming condition as well as in our phylogenetic and ontogenetic infancy, that is, 'primitive' thinking, as opposed to conscious states of thinking, the 'higher', 'secondary processes' (Freud 1989, 538–40, 568–71; Bastick 1982, 344. Cf. Lex 1979, 124–5; d'Aquili and Laughlin 1979, 173).
13. Shweder (1984), 45.
14. Laughlin, McManus, and d'Aquili (1979), esp. 25–50. They focus on the physical aspects and the interactive and affective properties of 'ritual' phenomena, e.g. the establishing of similar affective responses in participants. Although these studies focus on the more extraordinary manifestations of 'ritual', the processes identified as such may be found everywhere, while the phenomena vary in their intensity (d'Aquili and Laughlin 1979, 156–8; Lex 1979, 143).
15. Lex (1979), 119, 136–8. The functions of the cerebral hemispheres, in combination with neurophysiological processes of the autonomous nervous system, have in fact been found to play an important role in social

- coordination (Lex 1979, 119, 130–44; Laughlin, McManus, and d'Aquili, 1979, 41–3).
16. Peacock (1975), 2; Shweder (1984), 46.
 17. Kapferer and Hobart (2005), 15, cf. 10.
 18. In an article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, Turner (1982), 245, 248, argues for this view both on the basis of comparative studies ('Thus we tend to form groups, whether by ascription through kinship and neighbourhood or by choice, through friendship or common tasks or interests'), and through introspection ('Do we not, even freed from the constraints of kinship, incumbent upon our tribal brothers, feel deeply, libidinally, or aggressively committed to *some* group, whose values and norms frame our own sense of self, our own feeling of identity?').
 19. Turner (1982), 244–5.
 20. 'Groups are neither simple nor enduring: they are composite, consisting of leaders and led, factions, segments, coalitions of sub-groups, dividing and uniting with reference to ever-changing issues and interests' (Turner 1982, 245).
 21. Moore and Myerhoff (1975), 7, 219.
 22. 'A fixed framework of rules or understandings has certain significant advantages. It means that every instance and every interaction does not have to be completely renegotiated in a totally open field of possibilities. It means that there is some stability and predictability in people's affairs and that complex projects can be undertaken and suitable strategies planned on the basis of reasonable expectations about the behavior of other persons and/or their frames of reference' (Moore and Myerhoff 1975, 233–4).
 23. Moore and Myerhoff (1977), 5. In the same way Bauman (2003), 52, underscores 'the centrality of situated social interaction [e.g. "cultural performances"]'. This is 'the context in which social organization, as an emergent, takes form'.
 24. e.g. Wilson (2003), 16; Kowalzig (2007a), 8, 395.
 25. Bourdieu (1977), 19–20, 77, 94. Barbara Kowalzig, while giving attention to the element of conflict in the development of choral performances, does not offer a thorough analysis of power relationships. The parties involved in contesting alternative versions of myths, seem anyway to belong to the socially privileged, their conflict being concerned with ethnic identity rather than fundamental social privilege (Kowalzig 2007a, e.g. 308–24). The fact that *epheboi* frequently are involved supports this assumption (Kowalzig 2007b, 59).
 26. 'In a word, all its [the socially informed body's] *senses*, that is to say, not only the traditional five senses—which never escape the structuring action of social determinisms—but also the sense of necessity and the sense of duty, the sense of direction and the sense of reality, the sense of

balance and the sense of beauty, common sense and the sense of the sacred, tactical sense and the sense of responsibility, business sense and the sense of propriety, the sense of humour and the sense of absurdity, moral sense and the sense of practicality, and so on' (Bourdieu 1977, 124).

27. The reciprocal reinforcement of these senses creates 'a harmonization of agents' experiences and the continuous reinforcement that each of them receives from the expression, individual or collective (in festivals, for example) . . . or similar or identical experiences' (Bourdieu 1977, 72, 80, cf. 167).
28. Hdt. 2.48–9; Semos of Delos *FGrH* 396 F 24; cf. Henrichs (1987), 96; Cole (1993), 28, who, however, suggests a plausible interpretation, Cole (2001), 209–13.
29. Bremmer (1983), 318–20.
30. In the volume *La grande festa*, Lanternari (1976, 532–6) has collected a number of religious phenomena under the label of 'Capodanno' (in particular 'New Year's celebrations'), much of which is commonly studied as 'ritual'. Auffarth (1991, 34) likewise addresses the phenomenon of oriental and ancient 'Jahresfeste', suggesting that 'das Fest ist Teil der religiösen Kommunikation innerhalb der Gesellschaft'. In their introduction to the collection of studies on 'Das Fest', Haug and Warner (1989) define the phenomenon as a 'Schwellenphänomen', curiously omitting any reference to *people* (and hesitating to choose between the affirmative and the normbreaking function). Likewise striking is the way Assmann (1991), 22, 27, consistently refers to 'der Mensch', instead of groups, defining 'das Fest' essentially as an instance of 'das kulturelle Gedächtnis', in the service however of 'die Gruppenbildung'. While there is much to recommend in his analysis, there is an overall emphasis on the intellectual aspect of cultural memory: in case a culture relegates the 're-orientierende Besinnung' to e.g. philosophy, *das Fest* will erode to a 'Randerscheinung'.
31. James (1961), 11–12, may serve as an example of the first category, and Duvignaud (1973), 39, of the second category.
32. 'Cultural performance' includes 'what we in the West usually call by that name—for example, plays, concerts, and lectures. But they include also prayers, ritual readings and recitations, rites and ceremonies, festivals, and all those things we usually classify under religion and ritual rather than with the cultural and artistic' (Singer 1991, 29). Bauman (2003, 44) identifies certain properties of 'cultural performances', among these their settings, ground rules, performers, audiences, and institutional contexts.
33. Turner and Turner (1982), 201.
34. See the list given by Handelman (1998), 14.

35. Ath. 4.139d on the *Hyacinthia* at Sparta; cf. De Ligt and de Neeve (1988), 392–6.
36. MacAloon (1984a), 9; (1984b), 246, 265 (see below).
37. Hdt. 5.22, 6.127; Ar. *Plut.* 583; Dem. *Meid.* 8; Ar. *Ran.* 883.
38. Ar. *Vesp.* 1005; Pl. *Leg.* 650a; Xen. *Hier.* 1.12; cf. Burkert (1987), 29–30; Rutherford (2000), 134–6; Elsner and Rutherford (2007), 12–14.
39. Osborne (1993), 38.
40. ‘What we emphasize is that ritual, inclusive of ceremonial ritual, is an evolutionary, ancient channel of communication that operates by virtue of a number of homologous biological functions (i.e. synchronization, integration, tuning etc.) in man and other vertebrates. It is the conceptual matrix in which a particular ritual is embedded, rather than the biogenetic structure of the ritual itself, that determines whether the ritual is religious or secular’ (Laughlin, McManus, and d’Aquili 1979, 40, cf. 26).
41. ‘I will use the term “ritualization” to draw attention to the way in which certain social actions strategically distinguish and privilege what is being done in comparison to other, usually more quotidian, activities. As such, ritualization is a matter of various culturally specific strategies for setting some activities off from others, for creating and privileging a qualitative distinction between the “sacred” and the “profane”, and for ascribing such distinctions to realities thought to transcend the powers of human actors’ (Bell 1992, 74).
42. Cf. Bourdieu’s (1977), 72, ‘collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor’. As Handelman (2005), 197, describes the aesthetics generating public celebrations: ‘This sense of rightness or “fitness” . . . —kinesthetic, sensuous, and *interpersonal*—indexes the aesthetics of living unselfconsciously, in the main. No less, this sense of rightness is one of feeling—unselfconsciously, one monitors affectively. This is a sense of rightness not in moral terms but in the sense of how one does that which one is doing.’
43. ‘It emerges from this examination: firstly, that the motivation of symbols (of which exegesis is a particular case) is not meta-symbolic but symbolic. Secondly, that this motivation is not an interpretation of symbols but, on the contrary, must itself be interpreted symbolically . . . exegesis is not an interpretation but rather an extension of the symbol and must itself be interpreted’ (Sperber 1975, 33–4). LeVine (1984), 76–7, points to the fact that ‘what informants find difficult to verbalize is more important, more fundamental in the cultural organization of ideas than what they can verbalize’, thus ‘much of culture is not recoverable through straightforward ethnographic interviewing’.
44. The neologism ‘misrecognition’ was coined by Bourdieu (1977), 5–6, 21–2, 164; ‘the “complicity” of the subordinated classes . . . an act of

misrecognition by which the dominated class accepts the legitimacy of the values of the dominant class and applies the criteria of these values to its own practices, even when doing so is not favorable to it' (Bell 1992, 190, cf. 82, 206).

45. In *The Forest of Symbols, or Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, and other publications. Turner (1967a), 28–30; (1975), 55–6, applies the alternative terms 'orectic' and 'normative' pole respectively.
46. Turner (1985a; 1985b).
47. Turner and Turner (1982), 202.
48. The 'ludic recombination' includes a playful dissolution of normal order, incongruence, caricature, mockery, exaggeration, in particular of parts of the body, a creative liberation from constraint.
49. 'Liminality is, therefore, potentially, and even in traditional cultures often actually, a realm of primitive hypothesis where there is some freedom to juggle with the factors of existence'. Turner and Turner (1982), 205.
50. MacAloon (1984a), 1–11. These occasions are organized in genres which vary in the way they are serious or ludic and on numerous other dimensions. Their 'reflexivity' may range from the most conscious capacity to stand apart from subjective experiences and comment on them, to a preconscious, 'tacit knowledge'. The element of 'self-reflexivity' is noticed in several studies as an important element of festivals (e.g. Turner and Turner 1982, 203; Handelman 1982, 165; MacAloon 1984a, 10–13). To what extent this capacity to distance oneself is actually realized has been much discussed. Kapferer (1984b), 203–4, assumes that the anthropologist, who will never be completely part of the culture he studies, is in a position to study the reflexive elements in rituals, concluding that 'while rituals might typically be regarded as reflexive events by anthropologists, it does not necessarily follow that they will be similarly regarded by participants'.
51. MacAloon (1984a), 9.
52. Handelman (1998), 18–21.
53. Handelman (1998), 12.
54. Handelman (1998), 19.
55. Handelman (1998), 61.
56. MacAloon (1984a), 10.
57. MacAloon (1984b), 241–78.
58. Approaching the phenomenon from the widest possible angle, he observes that mass celebrations manifest a complex social process in the sense that they cannot be reduced to just one kind of expression, sacred or secular, solemn or hilarious (MacAloon 1984b, 252). The frequently asked question of whether an Ancient festival was religious or secular should therefore be abandoned.

59. MacAloon (1984b), 246–50, 265–70.
60. MacAloon (1984b), 250–1, borrowing the term from Terence Turner.
61. MacAloon (1984b), 253. MacAloon studies in fact the modern Olympic Games.
62. ‘Whatever performances do, or are meant to do, they do by creating the conditions for, and by coercing the participants into, paying attention’ (MacAloon 1984a, 10).
63. Pl. *Resp.* 1.327a, 328a; cf. Osborne (1993), 24 n. 9.
64. Borgeaud (1996), 48 = (2004), 25; ‘double identity’ (Versnel 1990, 110–13).
65. Borgeaud (1996), 47 = (2004), 24.
66. Kowalzig (2007a). There might be explicit prohibitions excluding *xenoi*, which, although found in some inscriptions, seem to have been laid down orally (Butz 1996, 84).
67. Herington (1985), 5. E.g. Wilson (2000); Rutherford (2001); Kowalzig (2007a).
68. De Ligt and de Neeve (1988), 396–400.
69. MacAloon (1984b), 258–65.
70. Graf (1996), 64.
71. Plut. *Dem.* 30.5; *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 192–204; Deubner (1969), 55; Dahl (1976), 55–6; Brumfield (1996), 67–9.
72. Deubner (1969), 80, 73; Clinton (1993), 116.
73. Cole (1993), 32–4; (2001), 208–13. For a more detailed account of the festival sequence, see below.
74. Ath. 4.139d–f.
75. Pettersson (1992), 26.
76. Scullion (1994), 79–89; Burkert (1983), 136–43; cf. Burkert (1985), 230–1.
77. Larmour (1999), 2, who has in fact devoted a PhD thesis (Larmour 1990 reworked in Larmour 1999) to the interrelationship of drama and athletics in Classical Greece, concludes that since both drama and athletic contests contain the element of *agón*, ‘these two phenomena are fundamentally connected’. The nature of this ‘connection’ is, however, not that of semantic equivalence but a paradigmatic relationship. See the table of festivities including athletic or dramatic contests offered by Osborne (1993), 38.
78. Cf. the dithyrambic performances (Zimmermann 1992, 61–3).
79. Kowalzig (2007a), 399. For an example of a political network, cf. the agreement between Sparta and Athens on renewing the peace of Nicias at the Dionysia and the Hyacinthia (Thuc. 5.18.9); see the interesting discussion on this topic by Santucci (2005), 179, 186, 208, 224.
80. Morinis (1992), 15.
81. Morinis (1992), 15; Siewert (1992), 16, refers to ‘the great procession from Elis to Olympia before the opening of the games’.

82. Miller (1975), 219–20.
83. For a more detailed account of the phenomenon, see Bouvrie (2004a), 238–43.
84. Hdt. 9, 33–5; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6.5, 70; 8.2.
85. Siewert (1996).
86. Paus. 5.16.3.
87. Kastenholz (1996), 151–3. The date of ritual sacrifice is not given, but the priestess for the cult of Eileithyia was appointed annually (Paus. 6.20.2–5).
88. Paus. 6.23.3, 6.24.1. According to Graf (1984), 253, women performing a rite at the *gymnasion* constitutes an anomaly, signalling the transition from everyday normality to the extraordinary period of the Olympic Games.
89. Paus. 6.20.9; 6.21.1; 5.6.7; 5.13.10.
90. For the special protection, see Strabo 8.3.33; for the segregation by gender, Paus. 5.6.7; 6.20.9; Ael. *NA* 5.17.
91. For the exceptional growth of flax, Paus. 5.5.2; for the exceptional qualities of the water in the Alpheios, Paus. 5.13.11; for the exceptional behaviour of birds of prey and flies, Paus. 5.14.1; Ael. *NA* 5.17; 11.8; Plin. *HN* 10.12; cf. Cole (1995).
92. Hdt. 4.30; Plut. *Mor.* 303b = *Quaest. graec.* 52; Paus. 5.5.2; Ael. *NA* 5.8.
93. Typical examples of ‘summarizing’ symbols are central religious or ideological symbols like e.g. ‘the American flag’, which evokes ‘the American way’, a cluster of values and diffuse visions of life, mobilizing and charging them with intense power. ‘Elaborating’ symbols classify the world, and offer roads of approved action. ‘Summarizing’ symbols, on the contrary, collapse distinctions ‘in an emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated way’ while drawing collective attention toward their complex core (Ortner 1973, 1339–40 = 1979, 94). Symbols may therefore be eminently apt at evoking shared meanings and sentiments and partake in social processes. Bruce Lincoln has emphasized this in his study of ‘discourse’, among its specific modes being myth, ritual, and classification: ‘Ultimately, that which either holds society together or takes it apart is sentiment, and the chief instrument with which such sentiment may be aroused, manipulated, and rendered dormant is discourse’ (Lincoln 1989, 11, cf. 9–10).
94. Paus. 5.11.8; Vernant (1983), 127; Tersini (1987), 157–8.
95. Paus. 5.6.3; Romano (1983), 12–14.
96. Pind. *Ol.* 1.24; Paus. 5.1.6, cf. 5.13.7. cf. Davidson (2003), 106–7.
97. Paus. 5.7.6–10.
98. Hdt. 5.22; Aeschin. 1.138; Philostr. *Gym.* 25; cf. Muth (1979), 180. Slaves seem not to have been barred from some local athletic events (Crowther 1992, 36–8).

99. Geertz (1971), 17, 26–7.
100. Ward (1979), 30–3.
101. Paus. 5.24.9–11.
102. ‘Deux idées prédominent dans la notion d’agôn: celle de rivalité, de tension, d’engagement qui met en présence des adversaires sinon des ennemis et dont l’aboutissement normal est la victoire du plus fort, du plus habile ou du plus doué; d’autre part aussi, celle de règles, de règlements, de normes que doivent respecter les compétiteurs, quelle que soit la forme de l’agôn... L’esprit agonistique ne se réduit pas en effet, comme on le dit trop souvent, à l’esprit d’émulation, mais il s’y ajoute l’acceptation tacite ou expresse de procédures ou de puissances d’arbitrage qui viennent tempérer et borner l’appétit de destruction éveillé par l’émulation’ (Lonis 1979, 25).
103. Plut. *Arat.* 28.
104. Philostr. *Gym.* 6 (my emphasis).
105. Burkert (1983), 9 n. 41; Nock (1944), 158–60. The discussion on the question of ‘chthonian’ vs. ‘Olympian’ sacrifice is still a difficult issue, see Henrichs (2005), 57.
106. Scullion (1994), 95–8, has collected a number of situations of social crisis.
107. Turner (1992), 95–6, 104.
108. For a more detailed analysis, see Bouvrie (2004a), 254–64.
109. Plut. *Mor.* 639e; Suet. *Ner.* 25. Currie 2005, 120–57, 124.
110. Turner (1966), 97. For a more detailed analysis see Bouvrie (2004b), 375–82.
111. In the Classical period slaves were excluded from the *gymnasion*, cf. Mantas (2000), 182–5; Crowther (1992), 38–40.
112. Wilson (2000), 27; Spineto (1996), 629–34.
113. Hdt. 2.48–9; Semos of Delos *FGrH* 396 F 24.
114. Cole (2001), 212; an earlier version in Cole (1993), 33. This festival freedom of speech is not the *parrhesia* of democratic procedure, which should have been granted to ‘slave, metic, freedman or poor citizen’ within the festival setting, as Connor (1996), 89, suggests, it is the suspension of the taboo of insulting co-citizens.
115. Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), 77.
116. Henderson (1975), 38.
117. Handelman (1998), 8.
118. Handelman (1998), 5, 77.
119. Carter (2004), 8–9; Handelman (2004), 224–5.
120. Zimmermann (1992), 116, 136, 147.
121. Handelman (2004), 215–17.
122. Handelman (2004), 219; likewise, he does not hesitate to call the tragic genre ‘ritual’ (Handelman 2004, 216).

123. The idea is widespread, launched by Goldhill (1987/1990).
124. Bouvrie (1988), 63; (1990/1992), 63–4, 75–7.
125. The *Fasti* (IG II², 2318; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 71–2), a list of winning events at the City Dionysia, enumerates the details in chronological order, each year presenting successively name of *arkhon*, (i.e. year); name of (winning) tribe of boys' (chorus); name of its *khoregos* (winning) tribe of men's (chorus); name of its *khoregos*, i.e. the dithyrambic event, (winning) comic performance; name of its *khoregos*; name of its *didaskalos*/poet, (winning) tragic performance; name of its *khoregos*; name of its *didaskalos*/poet (after 448/7 name of winning actor; cf. Dem. *Meid.* 10; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 27).
126. Turner and Turner (1982), 205.
127. Asper (2005), 20.
128. Scheff (1977).
129. Kapferer (1984a), 170; Scheff (1977), 485–6.
130. Turner (1967a), 28–30; (1975), 55; Turner and Turner (1982), 202. For a comprehensive and diachronic analysis of the theatre institution, see Bouvrie (2011).
131. Bouvrie (1990/1992), 214–39.
132. Bouvrie (2005), 200; (2004b), 297–301.
133. For analyses of single dramas, see Bouvrie (1990/1992; 1993; 1997; 2005; 2010).
134. Arist. *Poet.* 1453b 6–11.
135. Griffith (2005), 164, 173, 177. Griffith bases his analysis on Stallybrass and White (1986, 4–5), who analyse the way a dominant group may be fascinated with the rejected attributes of despised categories.
136. Bouvrie (1988), 53–6; (2005), 189, 193.
137. Bourdieu (1992), 81.

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Pelops Joins the Party

Transformations of a Hero Cult within the Festival at Olympia

Gunnel Ekroth

Ask anyone to name a Greek festival and it is highly likely that the answer will be the festival of Zeus at Olympia at which athletic games were performed every fourth year.¹ This is surely one of the most famous, if not *the* most famous of all festivals of antiquity. The *panegyris* and the games at Olympia were carried out for more than a thousand years, an impressive track record, though during this period their contents underwent changes due to religious, political and athletic reasons.² Olympia was always primarily a sanctuary of Zeus, but a number of other divinities were worshipped here as well. Pelops, the hero mythically connected with the origins of the games and who was buried in the midst of the Altis, occupied a special place. The cult of Pelops was part of the programme of the festival at which the Olympic Games took place, though he may also have received sacrifices on other occasions.³ Within the Olympic festival, the sacrifices to Pelops are thought to have taken place on the evening of the third day, which coincided with the full moon.⁴ The next morning, there was a procession followed by the religious highlight of the festival, the great sacrifice to Zeus.⁵

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The mythic background of Pelops is diverse and inconsistent.⁶ He originated from Asia Minor, more precisely Phrygia, where his eventful childhood included him being dismembered and served as dinner to the gods by his father Tantalus. Subsequently, revived and equipped with a new ivory shoulder replacing the one eaten by Demeter, the adult Pelops came to Greece and Pisa, the district around Olympia, where he challenged King Oenomaus in a chariot race to win the hand of his daughter Hippodameia. After winning her by the help of deceit, Pelops ruled Pisa and Elis happily ever after and finally came to give his name to the entire Peloponnese. The myths surrounding Pelops and their link to Olympia, the festival and the games are a highly complex matter. Some ancient traditions have it that Pelops founded the games or even that they were instituted in his honour, but no myth directly locates the chariot race with Oenomaus or any other event of his life at this site.⁷ His clearest connection to Olympia is the fact that he was buried there.

In modern scholarship, Pelops has often been claimed to be a very ancient hero at Olympia. His cult has been considered as a Mycenaean or even earlier feature, which constituted the original ritual focus of the festival, only gradually to be replaced by Zeus; the origin and purpose of the games have thus been seen as the funeral games for the dead hero.⁸ The structure of the rituals and athletic events at the festival has been taken as bringing out a 'polar tension' between Pelops and Zeus. In addition, it has been argued that the myth of how Pelops was dismembered, boiled and brought back to life served as an *aition* to the sacrifices to Pelops and to the foot race, thought to be the original contest of the games.⁹ This view of the role and function of Pelops at Olympia takes the cult as having been more or less the same throughout the centuries.¹⁰ The available written sources have been combined with little consideration of distinctions in time and purpose, while the archaeological evidence has been noted, but rarely considered in a comprehensive manner.

This paper will discuss Pelops' role and function within the festival from the perspective that the sources at our disposal only give us glimpses of the long history of Pelops' cult; the evidence must in each case be evaluated within its contemporary context to divine whether changes have taken place. Furthermore, the archaeological evidence, now enriched by the results of the resumed investigations of the earliest phases of the sanctuary, will be considered in depth to elucidate the information from the written sources.

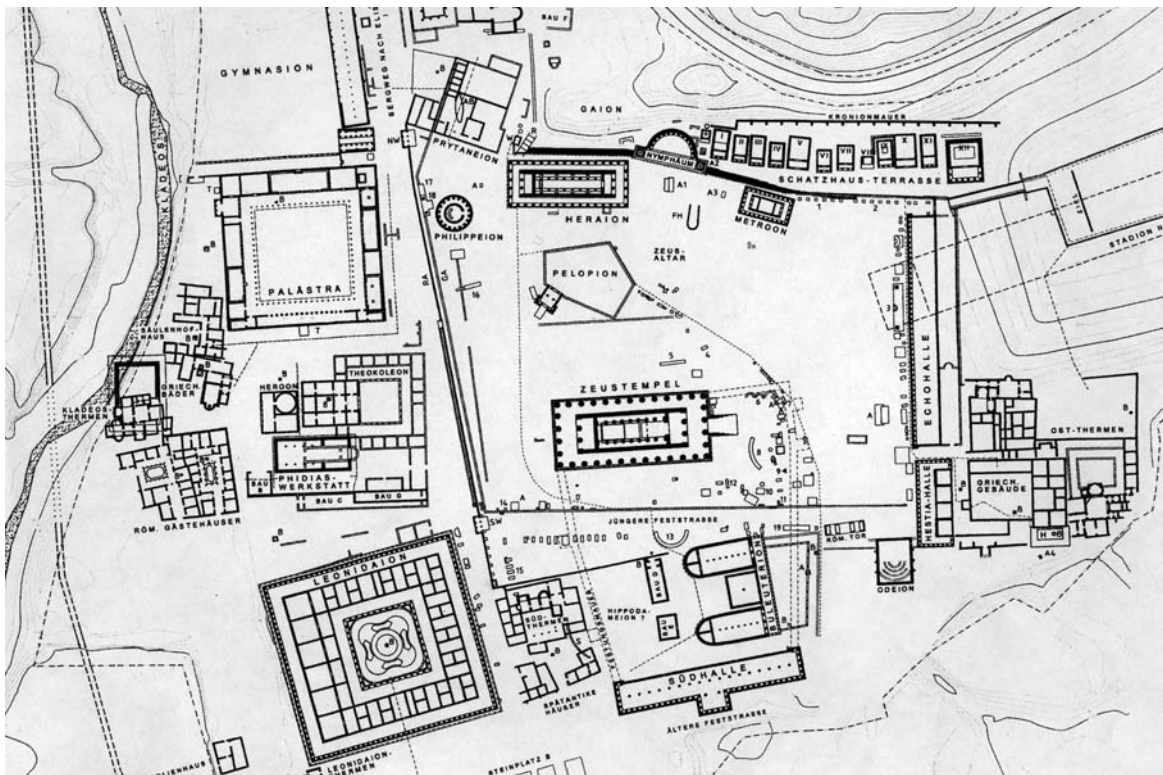


Fig. 4.1. Olympia. Plan of the sanctuary.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SETTING

The precinct of Pelops, the Pelopion, has been identified in the centre of the Altis, based on Pausanias' description (5.13.1) (see Fig. 4.1). According to him, Pelops had his own separate enclosure, which is to the right as you stand at the entrance of the temple of Zeus. There is no epigraphical mention of the Pelopion, but a rim sherd of a late Classical Elean skyphos with the incision [Π]ΕΛΟΠΙ, found at the eastern corner of the precinct wall, confirms the identification.¹¹ The area has been excavated on several occasions and traces of a propylon and a wall surrounding the precinct can be seen today.¹²

The recent archaeological excavations in the Altis, from 1987 to 1996, have provided us with new insights into the earliest history of Olympia (see Figs. 4.2–3) and shed light on many assumptions and

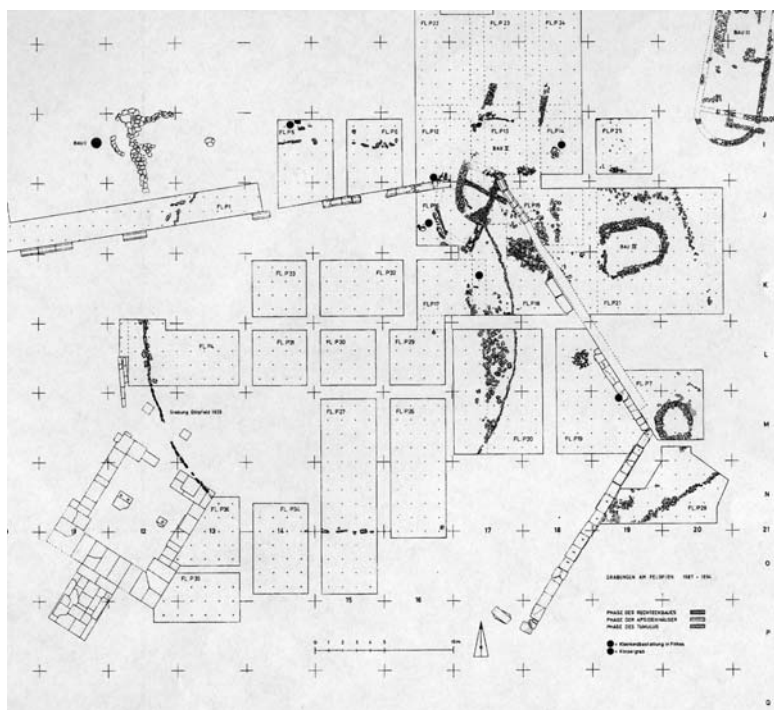


Fig. 4.2. Olympia. Plan of the Pelopion and the prehistoric remains found at the site.

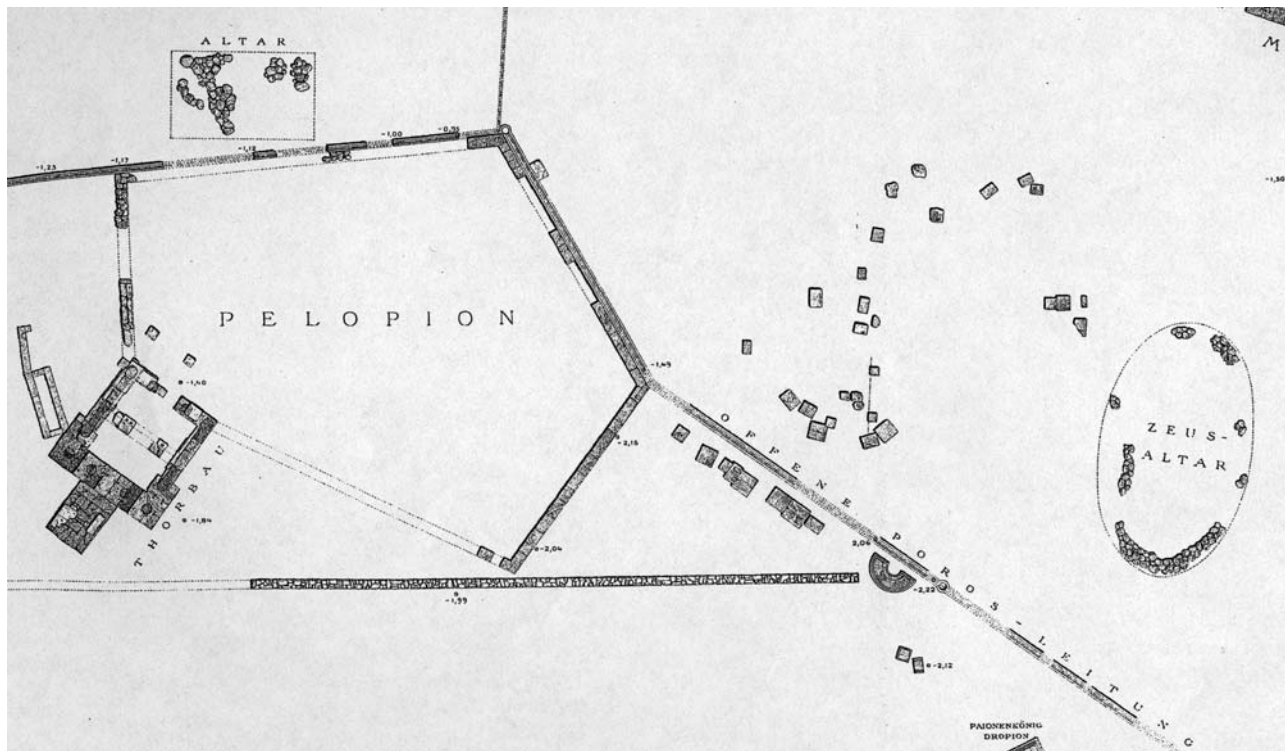


Fig. 4.3. Olympia. Stone plan of the remains of the Pelopion. To the left the remains of the propylon can be seen. From the eastern corner of the enclosure runs a water conduit (*öffene Poros-Leitung*), while the structure labelled *Zeusaltar* (altar of Zeus) is the foundation of the Early Iron Age building VII.

misunderstandings found in earlier scholarship. The area where the Pelopion is situated housed the oldest activity at the site. The Pelopion itself was centred on a prehistoric mound dating to the Early Helladic (EH) II period (c.2500 BC), above which there was a series of buildings and burials dating from the Early Helladic (EH) III to the Middle Helladic (c.2000 BC).¹³ Later in the Bronze Age, these early levels were sealed with a thick layer of sterile sand derived from the river Cladeus to the west, which regularly flooded the area. Significantly, there is no Mycenaean level above the flood deposits, and no continuity, cultic or other, can for the present be demonstrated between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.¹⁴

Evidence for the earliest cultic activity at Olympia, dating to the mid-eleventh century BC, comes from a thick layer in the northern part of the Altis, extending from the west of the so-called Heraion to the southern parts of the later Pelopion, and continuing eastwards approximately to the location of the Metroon.¹⁵ This layer, usually called the Black Layer or *schwartzte Schicht*, contained unstratified material from the mid-eleventh to the late seventh centuries BC: figurines of bronze and terracotta in the shape of animals, humans, and chariots, fragments of full-scale and miniature tripods, cauldrons, and protomes, weapons, spits, jewellery, and pottery.¹⁶ The finds were mixed with ash, charcoal and animal bones.¹⁷ The Black Layer seems to have been spread out in several phases with a final levelling in the late seventh or even the sixth century BC, judging by the date of the latest pottery recovered.¹⁸ The character of the finds indicates cult activity in the form of animal sacrifices and ritual meals, presumably taking place within the same area.

In the publication of the new excavations at the Pelopion, Helmut Kyrieleis has suggested that the material in the Black Layer derives from the earliest altar of Zeus. This was situated to the north-west of the later Pelopion, on top of the foundations of an EH III building, which were reused as an altar in the Early Iron Age (see Figs. 4.2 and 4.3: here labelled 'Altar').¹⁹ Around 600 BC, the altar of Zeus was moved further to the east, to the location referred to by the written sources of the historical period, and the sacrificial debris from the previous altar was completely levelled and spread out, which resulted in material from all periods being mixed.²⁰

The date of the introduction of the games is difficult, if not impossible, to establish.²¹ The literary sources offer several alternatives of when, by whom and for whom the games were established.²² Some

kind of games may have been part of the festival already in the earliest period of the sanctuary, but there is no change in the archaeological record which corresponds to the traditional date of the introduction of the games in 776 BC.²³ From around 700 BC, simple wells were being dug to the north-west and south-east of the Altis in which pottery, animal bones and cooking equipment have been found, i.e. signs of more visitors coming to the festival. One reason for the more intense activity at Olympia may be that games now formed part of the festival and therefore increased the attraction of the sanctuary.²⁴ The levelling of the Black Layer in the late seventh century BC constituted a major reorganization at Olympia and the festival by this time must have increased in importance, attracting more visitors, perhaps due to the games having developed a more varied programme.²⁵

Helmut Kyrieleis has demonstrated that the Black Layer does not support the assumption that Pelops was worshipped in Olympia at the Pelopion at this early date, contrary to what is often claimed. The extension of the Black Layer showed no sign of being centred on a particular area corresponding to the later Pelopion, and the votive material found in the vicinity of the prehistoric mound consisted of the same kinds of objects as those recovered elsewhere in this stratum.²⁶ Any links between Pelops and specific types of votives, which would allude to his mythic history, such as horses, wagons, chariot groups, tripods, or particular kinds of sacrificial animals, are difficult to sustain if the material is analysed in a more comprehensive manner.²⁷ The mound may have had religious significance in the Early Iron Age period, but it does not seem to have been the focus for any particular cult and there is no evidence for it being identified as the tomb of Pelops. All in all, the Black Layer is best seen as connected with the earliest phase of worship of the main divinity at the site, Zeus, to whom the festival was dedicated.²⁸

THE ARRIVAL OF PELOPS

Judging from the archaeological evidence, the cult of Zeus as well as the festival and the games seem to precede Pelops' presence at Olympia. We must be careful not to take the antiquity of the cult of Pelops for granted, as myth alone does not support a prehistoric

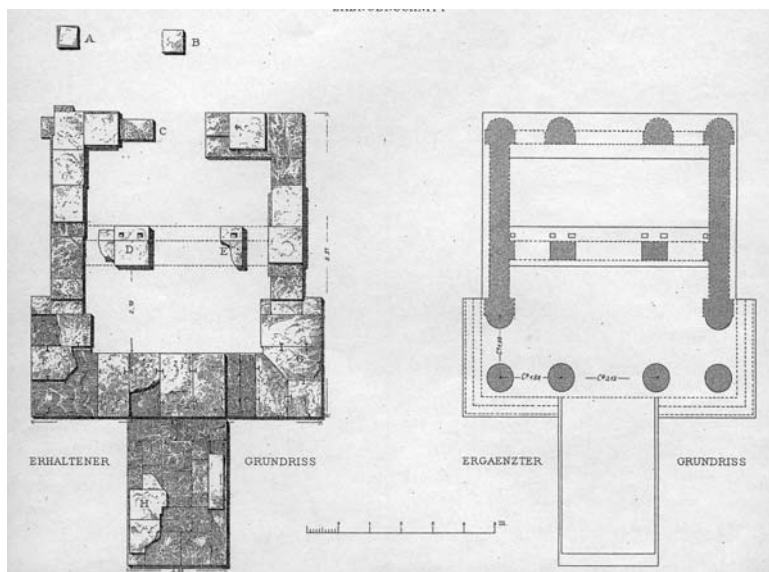


Fig. 4.4. Olympia. Plans of the propylon of the Pelopion. To the left, the preserved state at the time of the excavations; to the right, the reconstructed layout of the plan.

origin. The hero was introduced or added to a festival which had existed long before his arrival.

When do we have any evidence for a cult of Pelops at Olympia? The earliest physical remains at the Pelopion are difficult both to interpret and to date, mainly due to the fact that they were excavated so early and not published in sufficient detail. The stratigraphy indisputably shows that the activity at the Pelopion began after the Black Layer had been levelled at the end of the seventh century BC.²⁹ Under the propylon visible today (see Figs. 4.1, 4.3, and 4.4), there are scanty remains of an earlier structure usually taken to represent an older propylon of a more simple kind.³⁰

This propylon is thought to have been connected to an enclosure surrounding the sacred area, following the outline of the later, preserved precinct wall. The history of this wall is far from clear and it seems to have had different phases.³¹ None of the preserved sections of the wall actually joins the propylon remains.³² Preceding this wall, Dörpfeld postulated the existence of a fence of square stone posts linked with wooden bars, but none of the posts were found *in situ*,

only as reused in later contexts; they could have come from any other small precinct located within the Altis.³³ Furthermore, if there was a fence or a wall at this period, the earliest propylon would have been placed inside the enclosure, and not outside and in front of it, a location which seems highly unlikely.³⁴ Thus, arguments for any kind of early enclosure are weak.³⁵ If there was no fence or wall, we should consider alternative interpretations for the appearance of the early propylon.

The remains of this propylon consist of two square cut blocks (see Fig. 4.4 left: A and B), as well as a short stretch of wall (C), further to the south-west.³⁶ Presumably, this wall continued to the south-east, but was removed when the later propylon was built. I would suggest that we could reconstruct these remains as the base for a simple tetrastylon, consisting of four columns, joined by an architrave and perhaps having a roof, permanent or temporarily, constructed by an awning or branches.³⁷

Tetrastyla have been more or less overlooked in modern scholarship, but they were in fact quite common in sanctuaries, in particular in connection with altars, as well as being used to mark graves or sacred sites, and to protect statues.³⁸ Remains of what seem to be early examples of structures of this kind have been recovered at Kalapodi and at Isthmia.³⁹ At Olympia, a wooden base, dated by its find context to the late seventh century BC, may have been the lower section of a post for such a baldachin or tetrastylon.⁴⁰ Pausanias (5.20.6) mentions that the remaining column of the house of Oenomaus, in the centre of the Altis, was surrounded by a tetrastylon, and in the market place at Elis he saw a monument dedicated to Oxylyus consisting of four oak pillars, which held up a roof.⁴¹

In Attica, tetrastyla were especially connected with Heracles. Reliefs and vase paintings show Heracles standing or sitting in front of or inside such a monument, and it has recently been suggested that the tetrastylon was a reference to a funerary aspect of his cult.⁴² Though the Attic evidence cannot be directly applied to Olympia, a connection nonetheless exists between Pelops and Heracles. One of the earliest traditions of the foundation of the games, given in Pindar's tenth *Olympian Ode* (l. 24–5), states that Heracles established the contest by founding six altars next to the ancient tomb of Pelops, while according to Pausanias, it was Heracles who assigned the precinct to Pelops.⁴³

Thus, it would be possible to envision the early phase of the Pelopion as consisting of the unfenced prehistoric mound, identified

as the tomb of the hero, and, at its foot to the south-west, a tetrastylon of a simple kind, perhaps even made of wood.

How do we link this structure to the cult of Pelops and the festival of Zeus? Here, Pindar comes in, our earliest written source for a cult of Pelops at Olympia.⁴⁴ In *Olympian* 1 (usually dated to 476 BC), after having described the mythic background of Pelops, Pindar gives an intricate description of the ritual activities:

νῦν δ' ἐν αἵμακουρίαις
ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται,
Ἀλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθεῖς,
τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ.

And now he partakes
of the splendid blood sacrifices
as he reclines by the course of the Alpheos,
having his much-attended tomb beside the altar thronged by visiting
strangers.⁴⁵

This passage is highly interesting due to its specific content and unusual vocabulary.⁴⁶ If we locate the ritual actions outlined and the terminology used within the larger context of Greek cult in general, and the sacrificial rituals for heroes in particular, I find that Pindar's text can be interpreted as referring to three kinds of rituals: a libation of blood—*haimakouria*, *theoxenia*, and *thysia* sacrifice, followed by consumption of the meat.

There are several references to Pelops as a banqueter, which suggest the performance of *theoxenia*, a ritual at which the divinity was invited as an honoured guest and perceived as being present during the accomplishment of the rite. Pelops reclines, *klitheis*, as a departed in his tomb, as well as a symposiast at a banquet. His tomb is *amphipolos*, 'much-attended' or 'much visited', but the term also evokes *amphipoloi*, servants bringing food and drink. The use of the verb *meignymi* recalls the mixing of the wine at a banquet, though Pelops as the guest of honour partakes in the drinking by the libations of blood, *haimakouriai*, instead of wine.⁴⁷ An analogy between Pelops and Hieron within the ode has also been observed: Pelops reclines as a guest at a banquet, while Hieron's table is often surrounded by guests.⁴⁸ The vocabulary evokes a ritual where Pelops is perceived as being present and worshipped at his tomb as an honoured guest, offered a table with food and a couch to recline at, while enjoying his meal. The outpouring of blood, *haimakouria*, was an important part

of the *theoxenia* and constituted a particular means for attracting the attention of the hero, in order to invite him and procure his presence at the sacrifices and the festival, including the games.⁴⁹

Since blood was offered to Pelops, animal sacrifice must have taken place, presumably of several victims, as *haimakouriai* is in the plural and designated as *aglaaisi*, splendid or magnificent. There is nothing in Pindar's text suggesting that the meat would not have been eaten, and the ritual can be taken as being a regular *thysia* sacrifice.⁵⁰ The animals must have been slaughtered at the altar, *bomos*, mentioned in line 93, and the thigh bones and tails burnt. This altar is described as *poly-xenotatos*, 'visited by many foreigners', a term also meaning 'entertaining many guests', suggesting the distribution of the meat to a large number of worshippers present, followed by a collective meal.⁵¹ Portions of meat from these victims may also have been presented to Pelops, perhaps placed on a table, in accordance with the practice at *theoxenia*.

The image of Pelops being worshipped as a reclining hero participating in the feast following the sacrifice, which can be deduced from Pindar's text, is a cultic scenario in which a tetrastylon, of the kind suggested at Olympia, fits well. Temporary shelters, either tetrastyla or circular, raised to house the divinity when offered a *theoxenia* ceremony, are known from other cults, for example that of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maeander.⁵² The posited tetrastylon of Pelops may have housed the *kline* and table of the hero, and here he reclined, receiving his meal while watching the libations of blood, which were probably performed on the mound itself, perhaps in a pit dug out for that purpose.⁵³

A further link to the practice of *theoxenia* within the festival at Olympia is provided by an interesting mould-made terracotta, found in the fill from a well to the south of the workshop of Pheidias (see Fig. 4.5).⁵⁴ This small object, 3.6 × 6.3 cm, depicts a metal tray of the kind used at sacrifices for holding meat.⁵⁵ On the tray are represented the back leg of the sacrificial victim, its head, a spit with five pieces of meat, two round breads, an omphalos bowl, two bundles of grapes and two oblong objects, which may have been tongues or sections of back meat.⁵⁶ What we see depicted here is surely the offerings at a *theoxenia* ritual, an elaborate and rich meal of the kind which would have been offered to an important divinity such as Pelops.

There might even be a reference to the ritual activity surrounding the tetrastylon of Pelops in the lists of religious functionaries at Olympia. Among the sanctuary officials recorded in an inscription



Fig. 4.5. Olympia. Terracotta model showing *theoxenia* offerings.

of the first century BC is a person designated *steganomos kai mageiros*.⁵⁷ The title *steganomos* may refer to this official being responsible for putting up roofs or tents in connection with ritual meals, so why not also the arrangement of the tetrastylon of Pelops?⁵⁸ That the *steganomos* was also a *mageiros*, a cook, and is mentioned together with the *kathemerothytes*, the person performing the daily sacrifices at Olympia, indicate a context of sacrifice and feasting.⁵⁹ If this association is valid, it shows that the *theoxenia* ritual in the tetrastylon at the sacrifices to Pelops were an element well integrated within the festival.

If we now turn back to the arrival of Pelops, the archaeological evidence points to Pelops being added to the festival of Zeus sometime after the major architectural reorganization of the sanctuary around 600 BC.⁶⁰ A date some time in the sixth century BC may be proposed for the earliest architecture at the Pelopion, though the structure may be later.⁶¹ Pindar's *Olympian* 1 is usually dated to 476 BC, and if we accept a connection between his description and the physical remains, the latter must have been present when Pindar composed his ode. Pindar's language, especially the use of *nyn*, 'now', seems to reflect the contemporary cultic situation of the festival at Olympia.⁶²

The reasons for the introduction of the cult of Pelops may have been diverse. The festival was clearly transformed in the sixth century BC, just as the actual sanctuary underwent major changes. The addition of Pelops may have had political undertones, linked to the

administration of the sanctuary by the city of Elis, which aimed at increasing the status and religious potential of the sanctuary and the festival by instituting a cult of a hero well established on the Peloponnese, and who could be recognized and honoured by all Greeks coming to the festival.⁶³

The sixth century BC also witnessed an intense increase in the number of hero cults. A trend discernible within athletic festivals of the same period is the inclusion of a hero cult, an action which can be seen as part of the mythic construction of the games. The situation at Olympia may here be closely paralleled with that at Nemea, where the earliest phase of the Heroon of Opheltes dates to the second quarter of the sixth century BC.⁶⁴ Opheltes is in the mythic tradition explicitly linked both to the site of Nemea, where his death took place, and to the games, which were instituted in his honour.⁶⁵ Pelops' connection with Olympia and the games seems originally to be more superficial. Though some versions of the myth of Pelops locate the race with Oenomaus in the region of Olympia and later traditions connect him directly with the games, the earliest evidence actually placing him at Olympia is Pindar, who is also the first source mentioning him being buried there and having a cult. It is possible that the cult of Opheltes at Nemea may have inspired the establishment of the cult of Pelops at Olympia and its integration into the festival.⁶⁶

PELOPS WITHIN THE FESTIVAL

The Pelopion was an important monument within the Altis and its location was certainly due to the prehistoric mound being identified as the tomb of Pelops. We now have to consider the cult and the precinct within the wider setting of the sanctuary and festival activity.

The area east of the Pelopion formed the centre of the Altis, and the ash altar of Zeus, of which no traces have been found, was located here.⁶⁷ The apsidal Early Iron Age building VII in the centre of the Altis (see Figs. 4.1 and 4.3: here labelled 'Zeusaltar') may still have been visible in the Archaic period; due to its size and location, this was perhaps the earliest cult building for Zeus, in which his statue was kept.⁶⁸ To the north, the open area was monumentalized by the treasury terrace, constructed in the sixth century BC, and by the earliest stone temple, erected around 600 BC and presumably

dedicated to Zeus.⁶⁹ Further to the east was the stadium where the athletic events took place. The first race track is dated to around 550 BC, and it continued further west into the Altis than did the later stadium visible today.⁷⁰

If the centre of the Altis was clearly in the east, why did such an important cult place as the Pelopion face west? The western entrance has been seen as a sign of the chthonian nature of the cult of Pelops, which was to be separated from the cult of Zeus, but there is in fact no evidence to support this assumption.⁷¹ I would suggest that this orientation of the Pelopion was chosen, not to mark a distinction from the principal god, but because the cult of Pelops formed part of the festival activities set in the western part of the Altis.

That the western side of the Pelopion was the more important is suggested not only by the location of the hypothetical tetrastylon and the later propylon (see below), but also from the distribution of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic finds in this area; these traces of activity post-date the levelling of the Black Layer.⁷² The majority of the more precisely located finds from the old excavations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were recovered either within the later wall or to its west or south-west. Hardly any object is recorded as having been found to the east of the Pelopion.⁷³

So, what was the use of the west Altis and why would the sanctuary of Pelops face in this direction? In the Geometric period, the main entrance to the sanctuary was probably in the west.⁷⁴ The presence of the Black Layer in the north-western part of the Altis indicates that this area was used for sacrifices and ritual meals from an early date. That dining took place here in the Archaic and Classical periods also is evident from the wells found under the later Prytaneion, all containing animal bones and pottery of the kind used for eating and drinking; the area to the north of the Prytaneion seems to still have been an open campsite in the mid-fourth century BC.⁷⁵ The Prytaneion itself was used for meals for magistrates and invited guests, and it was here that the athletic victors were invited to dine.⁷⁶ Further south, near the later workshop of Pheidias, seventeen wells, dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC, have been found.⁷⁷ In addition, one of the earliest buildings in this area, the Heroon, dated to the mid-fifth century BC (see Fig. 4.1), due to its plan and manner of construction, has been suggested to evoke temporary tholoi of the kind raised in Greek sanctuaries used for meals at festivals.⁷⁸ The archaeological evidence indicates that the western part of the

Altis most likely served as one of two principal dining areas for visitors to the sanctuary (the other being the area to the east of the Altis, north and south of the stadium), filled with temporary huts and tents for the visitors who stayed and dined here during the festival.⁷⁹ This picture derived from the archaeology accords well with Pindar's statement that the whole area outside the Altis was used as a *Festwiese*, a field for the worshippers to dine in.⁸⁰

If Pelops was worshipped with animal sacrifices and *theoxenia* at a simple tetrastylon facing the area where the visitors dined, we can indeed picture the open space in front of his sanctuary as visited by many guests, just as Pindar claims (*Ol.* 1.90–3). Furthermore, it is possible that meat from the sacrifices to Pelops, and perhaps also from the victims sacrificed to Zeus, was distributed here.⁸¹ A large number of metal weights have been recovered at Olympia, predominantly outside the Altis.⁸² Interestingly, the only group of weights found within the Altis comes from the area to the west and north of the Pelopion, and these weights could have been used when meat from sacrifices was divided into portions and distributed.⁸³ Weights have also been found inside and around the Prytaneion, where meals of course took place, and the same use could be proposed for these objects.⁸⁴ Finally, among the finds, with a provenance south and west of the Pelopion, are fragments of Archaic and Classical bronze cauldrons and basins, which may have been used at the distribution and cooking of the sacrificial meat as well.⁸⁵ Thus, we can picture Pelops not only as a reclining banqueter, but also as overseeing the distribution of the meat from the sacrifices to the visitors.⁸⁶

A feature considered central in the myth of Pelops is his dismemberment, boiling, and revival in a cauldron, a story which has been taken as a reflection of the importance of cauldrons and boiling within the real sacrifices at Olympia.⁸⁷ Furthermore, this narrative of the child hero being cooked and brought back to life has been argued as serving an *aition* to the sacrifice of a black ram to Pelops, a ritual described by Pausanias.⁸⁸ However, one reason for the significance of the cauldron and the boiling of meat in the myth may simply be that boiling constitutes the most convenient way to prepare meat for a large number of participants at a sacrifice, and, judging from the osteological evidence, most meat eaten in Greek sanctuaries was in fact boiled.⁸⁹ Therefore, the boiling motif can more specifically be suggested to evoke Pelops' role at the preparation and distribution of meat at the major sacrifices, which were essential components of the festival at Olympia.

Interestingly, boiled meat is also encountered at the games for the dead and heroized Aleximachus, outlined in a Hellenistic private cult foundation established by his father Critolaus on Amorgos.⁹⁰ Here, the meat of the boiled ram was to be placed in front of Aleximachus' statue and later distributed as prizes in the athletic contests. The term used for placing the meat in front of the statue is *paratithenai* (to place or put beside), a term often employed to describe *theoxenia* rituals.⁹¹ The scenario of boiled meat, games and *theoxenia* for the hero found in the cult foundation of Aleximachus can be envisioned for Pelops as well, reclining in his tetrastylon and overseeing the distribution of meat. In fact, the ritual layout in the cult foundation for Aleximachus may even have been inspired by the cult of Pelops at Olympia.

Within the festival, Pelops can be seen both as the happy host reclining and enjoying his meal and as the hero overseeing the distribution of meat, certainly a central feature of any *panegyris*.⁹² Considering the number of visitors, sacrifice, meat distribution, and dining must have been ongoing events during all days of the festival, although the great sacrifice to Zeus took place in the middle.⁹³ Pelops, therefore, had an important role to fulfil.

The western part of the Altis seems to have been a dining area for the regular visitors to the festival, but it also housed the more prestigious dining for the athletic victors, magistrates, and prominent guests in the Prytaneion.⁹⁴ Considering the myth of Pelops' chariot race with Oenomaus and the tradition of him instituting the games, it is possible to imagine Pelops as being particularly linked to the athletic victors.⁹⁵ In *Olympian* 1, Pindar speaks of the victors gaining fame in the racecourses of Pelops and enjoying it for the rest of their lives.⁹⁶ Just as Pelops conquered and won, and therefore was honoured by *theoxenia*, so the Olympic victors were honoured with a prestigious meal of meat in the Prytaneion and perhaps also in the open, to the west and south-west of the Pelopion, where they would consume the meat in the presence of the hero.⁹⁷

A final monument which may be fitted into this context of athletic victory, cult, and dining at the festival is the Philippeion, situated to the north-west of the Pelopion. This tholos was constructed in 338 BC by Philip of Macedonia, housing statues of the Macedonian royal family.⁹⁸ The building may have had some kind of ritual connotations, though its inconspicuous location, that is, not in the eastern part of the Altis, has been considered as enigmatic.⁹⁹ However, round

buildings in sanctuaries were in several cases used as dining rooms and they seem in fact to have been especially favoured in Macedonia.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps a *theoxenia* ceremony, similar to that of Pelops, was staged within the Philippeion in front of the statues. The king and his family may have been honoured at the festival in the same manner as Pelops, the great-grandfather of Philip's ancestor Heracles, if they were presented as dining in the company of both Pelops and the victorious athletes.¹⁰¹

PELOPS AND THE ELEAN POLITICAL AGENDA

In the Classical period, the Pelopion was remodelled.¹⁰² A propylon was constructed, consisting of a four-column porch, with an inner dividing wall, presumably with doors, and two columns in antis in the back (see Fig. 4.4). This structure was joined to a built enclosure wall, surrounding a pentagonal or hexagonal area in the middle of which the prehistoric mound was situated.¹⁰³ The height of this wall, which may have been a massive stonewall or a mud-brick construction, is unknown, as only the stone footing remains. Nothing is known of the inner arrangements of the precinct, and the size and elevation of the mound in this period cannot be determined. These building activities are difficult to date precisely, but, according to the latest investigations in the Pelopion area, the propylon itself seems to have been constructed in the fifth century BC and presumably the wall dates to the same period.¹⁰⁴

The Pelopion was now fenced in, closed, and could even be locked, and there was apparently no free admission or entrance. To what extent this process corresponds to any changes in the festival and the games or to other circumstances is a matter of conjecture. The attraction of the festival and the games seems to have waned after the mid-fifth century BC, though there is nothing to suggest that Pelops did not continue to occupy the role as the principal hero of the games and the festival all through the Classical period, receiving and entertaining the athletes and the visitors in the western Altis, outside the Pelopion.¹⁰⁵

In the fifth century BC, a number of building projects were undertaken in the sanctuary, such as the erection of the temple of Zeus and reconstruction work at the stadium, the Prytaneion and the

Bouleuterion, to mention a few. The constructions at the Pelopion can be seen as part of this architectural embellishment.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that more valuable votive offerings were now kept in the Pelopion, and the enclosure was constructed to protect them.¹⁰⁷

However, the political developments of the Early Classical period may also have contributed more directly to equipping the Pelopion with a precinct wall and a monumental entrance. It seems clear that Olympia always constituted a vital component to the local identity of the polis of Elis, the city in charge of the festival and the games from the early sixth century BC; the city's prytaneion was at Olympia, not in Elis, and official decrees were put up in the sanctuary.¹⁰⁸ Elis underwent a *synoikismos* in the 470s BC and the city seems to have manifested its presence in the sanctuary more prominently in the fifth century BC.¹⁰⁹ The temple of Zeus, the major new addition to the sanctuary, was paid for by the Eleans and completed in the second quarter of the fifth century BC. In the sculptural programme of this building, Pelops plays an important role, since the east pediment depicts the moments before his chariot race with Oenomaus to win Hippodameia.¹¹⁰ The choice of the myth of Pelops for the decoration of the temple has been seen as a demonstration of local Elean pride and as a desire to create a long and glorious mythical past for the city of Elis: an important concern after the *synoikism*, highlighting Pelops as the founding hero of Elis in the same sense and for the same reasons as Theseus was in Athens.¹¹¹ A large, more well-defined precinct marked by a propylon may have been an additional expression of Pelops' importance as the national hero of the Eleans in the Classical period. Moreover, the enclosure may have served to protect the tomb of Pelops in order to prevent the bones, and by consequence the power of the cult, being transferred elsewhere, a fate of heroic bones known from other instances.¹¹²

If Pelops in the fifth century BC was worshipped at Olympia not only as the hero of the festival, but also as the national hero of the Eleans, it may also be possible that some aspects of Pelops' cult as a poliadic divinity were reserved only for Eleans at this period. The cult of poliadic divinities constituted an important means for a polis to articulate its identity and establish group cohesion, especially by letting participation in the cults be open to citizens only, and, as the ultimate means for marking exclusion or inclusion, by carefully restricting who could eat the meat from the sacrifices or where this meat could be taken.¹¹³ In this context, it is important to remember

that even in Panhellenic sanctuaries it was the controlling city (Elis, in the case of Olympia) which decided who could participate in the sacrifices, festivals, and games linked to a certain divinity, and that all visitors, by not being citizens of that city, were by definition *xenoi*, a status affecting their access to the local cults.¹¹⁴

Seen in this light, the wall and propylon of the Pelopion may have been constructed to control access to the poliadic aspect of Pelops' cult, which in that case was located within the walls of the Pelopion. This was definitely the case on Delos, where the cult place of the Heros Archegetes (or Anios) was delimited by a high wall and the entrances to the main building were marked by the inscription 'It is not allowed for foreigners to enter'.¹¹⁵ The sacrifices to this Delian hero, who was the mythical king of the island and whose cult was almost exclusively confined to Delos, took place inside the Archegeion on the open courtyard, surrounded by high walls and entered by gates, which could be closed by doors, thus restricting free access also in a physical sense.¹¹⁶ When a cult intimately connected with the political identity of a city or community was located within a sanctuary frequently visited by foreigners, such physical restrictions of access seem to have been considered necessary in some instances, and such a situation may have contributed to erecting the enclosure around the Pelopion.¹¹⁷

This suggestion is admittedly hypothetical, and there is at present no contemporary evidence from Olympia apart from the enclosure itself to clarify the role and function of Pelops in the Classical period. In the end, we can only conclude that the Pelopion was walled and given a propylon in the fifth century BC, a significant change which has received surprisingly little attention in the scholarship on Olympia.

PAUSANIAS' PELOPS

After the Classical remodelling of the Pelopion we know next to nothing of the fate of the precinct, apart from the propylon being re-stuccoed in the Roman period.¹¹⁸ It is conceivable that this restoration was linked to Emperor Hadrian's interest in Greek sanctuaries and their festivals. The substantial works he undertook at Olympia may very well have included the renovation of the entrance

to the Pelopion, especially since he extended the cult place of another major hero in a Panhellenic sanctuary, that of Palaemon at Isthmia, with a round temple and a new offering pit.¹¹⁹

Our principal source of the later cult of Pelops is the account offered by Pausanias in the second half of the second century AD.¹²⁰ He describes the Pelopion as enclosed by a stone wall, *θριγκὸς λίθων*, and that trees and statues were found inside it. The famous ivory shoulder blade, which Pelops was given when Demeter had eaten the original one, had disappeared from the temple of Hera when Pausanias visited the sanctuary, and the rest of Pelops' bones were apparently no longer kept in the Altis.¹²¹ Nevertheless, Pelops' prominence as a cult figure for the Eleans was certainly intact in the second century AD, as Pausanias informs us that the Eleans venerated him more than any other hero at Olympia, just as they venerated Zeus more than any other god.¹²² As for the actual worship of Pelops, Pausanias states that the hero received an annual sacrifice by the magistrates, the victim being a black ram. The *mantis* received no share, while the woodcutter, one of Zeus' servants, was given the neck. Anyone, Elean or foreigner, who ate of the meat was barred from the cult of Zeus.¹²³

This text has frequently been drawn on when discussing Pelops' role and function within the festival at Olympia during the Archaic and Classical periods, but the problems with using Pausanias' account as a source for conditions more than six hundred years earlier have often been overlooked. It is important to note that Pausanias' accounts of hero cults, as that of Greek religion in general, are highly influenced by contemporary conditions and notions and are therefore not necessarily valid for the situation in earlier periods.¹²⁴ In fact, the information provided by Pausanias suggests that Pelops' role and function within the festival cannot have been the same as in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Pausanias' description of the cult includes some very specific and unusual ritual details. Whoever ate the meat from Pelops' sacrificial victims could not participate in the cult of Zeus, since they had become impure. It should be pointed out that the sacrifice to Pelops, leading to the participants being polluted by eating the meat, is more or less unique among Greek hero cults, contrary to what is often claimed. Sacrifices to heroes may contain elements which underline an impure and mortal quality in the recipient, usually the burning of all or a larger quantity of the meat, or the discarding of the blood, but,

as a rule, participation in a hero cult does not pollute the worshippers.¹²⁵ The best (and apparently only) parallel is, in fact, the one offered by Pausanias in the same passage: participation in the cult of Telephus at Pergamum prohibited entry to Asclepius, a condition remedied with a bath. No such purifications are referred to in the case of Pelops, which is surprising. It is difficult to see how it would have been possible for athletes and visitors in the Archaic and Classical periods to participate in the sacrifices to Pelops on the third day of the festival, if this led to pollution and exclusion from the sacrifices to Zeus the next morning. How this was dealt with in the Roman period is an open question. It may be significant that the sacrifice mentioned by Pausanias was performed annually, which means it was not exclusively linked to the games and therefore the connection with Zeus may have been less pronounced. It is also possible that the cult of Pelops in the Roman period gradually became more separated from both the games and the cult of Zeus.¹²⁶ If that was the case, Pelops may have adopted a different role within the festival than in earlier times.

Furthermore, it is surprising that Pausanias does not mention any altar of Pelops where these sacrifices were performed. Since the consumption of the meat from Pelops' victims led to a ritual impurity which prevented any participation in the cult of Zeus, these sacrifices can hardly have taken place on the ash altar of the god. The lack of any mention of an altar for Pelops is all the more remarkable, since Pausanias lists seventy other altars at Olympia, three of which are said to be located just next to the Pelopion.¹²⁷ One explanation for this silence could have been that the altar of Pelops was located inside the Pelopion. If Pausanias did not come to Olympia when the annual sacrifices to the hero took place, the Pelopion may have been closed at the time, and he was therefore only told about the rituals and never saw them or the altar.¹²⁸

Another unique feature in Pausanias' description of the cult of Pelops is that the neck of the sacrificial victim was given to the woodcutter. The use of this part of the victim as a choice or honorary portion is not encountered in any Greek sacred law or sacrificial calendar, the preferred cuts usually being back legs and tongues.¹²⁹ The only parallel I know of for selecting the neck for a particular purpose is the funerary sacrifice in the entrance to the Maussoleion at Halicarnassus (mid-fourth century BC). The sheep and goats from this deposit were divided and the bodies had in many cases been laid down in sections in a more or less correct anatomical order.

Completely absent from among the bones were the vertebrae of the lower neck, which presumably had been removed for some reason.¹³⁰ Though there is of course a great distance in both time and place between the sacrifice in Carian Halicarnassus and the rituals at Olympia in Pausanias' time, it is nonetheless interesting that the only comparison for a particular handling of the neck of the victim comes from a funerary sacrifice in Asia Minor, the region from which Pelops originated.

In Roman times, the funerary aspects of the hero and his worship seem to have become more pronounced, just as in a number of other hero cults described by Pausanias.¹³¹ In fact, Pausanias mentions another hero cult connected with the festival at Olympia which also contained funerary traits, that of Achilles at Elis, who was bewailed by the Elean women at sunset at the beginning of the festival (6.23.3). Furthermore, the tradition that the athletic events at the major Panhellenic sanctuaries originated in the funerary games of the dead heroes, worshipped at the same sites, is mainly documented in Roman or antiquarian sources. In the case of Pelops, all sources claiming that the festival and the games belong to him date from the Roman period or even later.¹³²

The cult of Pelops, as presented by Pausanias as a polluting hero cult, with a black victim and the *mantis* receiving no share of its meat (presumably not to restrict his participation in the cult of Zeus), is more compatible with hero cults of the Roman period than those of earlier, Greek times. In this sense, the cult of Pelops may be compared with the cult of Palaemon at Isthmia. This cult was reinstituted around AD 50–60; the large-scale holocaustic sacrifices performed were probably a Roman reconstruction of the earlier cult, influenced by contemporary Roman perceptions and tastes.¹³³ The changes that took place in the cult of Pelops can be linked to the gradual separation of gods and heroes discernible in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, probably arising from a desire to distinguish older, traditional and epic hero cults from those directed to recently heroized mortals by adopting certain sacrificial rituals.¹³⁴

Pausanias stresses the importance of the cult of Pelops, but his description makes it difficult to perceive the hero as occupying the same role within the festival as during Archaic and Classical times. The festival may have been the same, but Pelops was clearly different. It is even difficult to ascertain whether the sacrifices of Pelops described by Pausanias were part of the festival in the second century

AD or if they represent an independent cult. In any case, Zeus and Pelops of the Roman period seem to have been more ritually separated than previously. The ritual dichotomy between Zeus and Pelops, evoked by scholars principally on the basis of Pausanias' account, may therefore be a late, post-Classical, and mainly Roman development, and not an original feature of the Olympic festival.¹³⁵

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the extant archaeological and written evidence, the cult of Pelops at Olympia must be considered an Archaic feature added to the religious set-up of the sanctuary and festival of Zeus, where this god had been worshipped for several centuries before the hero was introduced. It seems likely that the cult of Pelops was established some time after the festival and the games had begun to grow in importance and attract more participants and spectators. The worshippers of Zeus came to identify the tumulus as the ancient tomb of Pelops, *archaion sema Pelopos* (Pind. *Ol.* 10.24). Once the cult of Pelops was instituted, the tradition surrounding the festival and the games may have been modified to accommodate the hero and explain his presence. The modern belief that the festival was originally that of Pelops is an inference based on the assumption that hero cults belong to an older stratum of Greek religion which was gradually replaced by the cult of 'Olympian' gods, an evolutionary perspective with little support in the ancient evidence.¹³⁶

Why the cult of Pelops was added to the festival cannot be ascertained, but it arose at a time when hero cults came into being all over Greece, and the cult of Pelops can be seen as part of this trend. All major sanctuaries came to house hero cults, and at those sanctuaries where Panhellenic games took place, these games became mythically and ritually connected with a specific hero. Nevertheless, the tradition that they originated as funeral games for the same heroes seldom seems to have been prominent until later times. The choice of Pelops as the hero of the games may have been dictated by the political motives of the Eleans, the city controlling Olympia in the early sixth century BC.

The cult of Pelops did not remain static through the centuries; this is evident from the analysis of the archaeological and literary

evidence. Initially, Pelops, buried in the centre of the sanctuary and honoured above all other heroes, has to be seen as the hero of the festival and the games, but also as the paragon of the victorious athlete and the eternal winner celebrating his victory. He reclines as a banqueter in his tetrastylon next to his tomb, is honoured by *theoxenia*, and receives not only the visitors coming to the games, but also the athletes, who won and received immortal fame, just as Pelops did. At his precinct, animal sacrifices were performed and the meat was divided, boiled, and distributed, a procedure overseen by Pelops; in the open area to the west of the Pelopion the visitors and the athletes dined in his company.

In the Classical period, the Pelopion was reorganized and surrounded by a wall entered by a monumental propylon. This change may be seen as a part of the general embellishment of the sanctuary in the fifth century BC, but it may also be linked to the political agenda of the city of Elis. When the political power of Elis grew, Pelops was promoted as the national hero of this city state and the cult of Pelops may have taken on an additional aspect. Since his cult was now also being promoted as a poliad cult for the city of Elis, this specific aspect of his worship may have been reserved for Elean citizens. The enclosure is suggested to have been erected to restrict who could participate in this cult and also to safeguard the hero's tomb and his bones. The principal part of the cult of Pelops, taking place outside the Pelopion, was presumably still a part of the festival and open for all athletes and visitors.

In the Roman period, finally, judging from Pausanias' account in the second century AD (our only extant source), the cult of Pelops had undergone the same changes as other Greek hero cults, which were of interest for the Romans. The funerary aspects in the worship of Pelops become more pronounced, especially by the cult now having an element of pollution, which led to it being more separated from the cult of Zeus. Pelops cannot have occupied the same role within the festival. The ritual antagonism between Pelops and Zeus, seen by some as the original nexus of the festival and the games at Olympia, may in fact be a later, Roman development. This dark and uncanny Pelops was clearly different from the joyous festival hero of the Archaic period.

NOTES

1. The festival of Zeus, the *panegyris* or *heorte*, seems to have existed independently of the games, see Sinn (1991), 46–51; Pind. *Ol.* 6.68–70; Strabo 8.3.30.
2. On the changes of the festival focus in relation to the cult of Zeus, see Sinn (1991). For the athletic programme, see Lee (2001); Scanlon (2002), 32–8. The pattern of dedicating votives also differs over time, see e.g. Himmelmann (2002); Morgan (1990), 30–47; (1993), 22–7; Siewert (1996).
3. Pausanias (5.13.2) speaks of annual sacrifices to Pelops, as do the *scholia vetera* to Pindar (*Ol.* 1.146d [Drachmann]).
4. Lee (2001), 48–50. Mommsen (1891), 1–5, argued that the sacrifices to Pelops took place on the eve before the festival began; see also Weniger (1904), 130. However, as Lee (2001), 50, points out, the evidence is not conclusive and we only know that the sacrifices to Pelops were performed on one evening some time before the sacrifices to Zeus.
5. At least, this was the organization of the programme in the Early Classical period through to the Roman period, see Lee (2001).
6. For the myth of Pelops, see Bloch (1897–1909), 1866–75; Lacroix (1976); *NeueP* 9 (2000), s.v. Pelops 1; Pache (2004), 84–94.
7. Lacroix (1976), 329–34; Pache (2004), 88–94. For Pelops as the originator or recipient of the games, see Phlegon of Tralles, *FGrH* 257, F 1.6, the *scholia* to Pindar, *Hypothesis Isthmiorum* and Hyg. *Fab.* 273.5; cf. Pindar calling the stadium *dromoi Pelopos* (*Ol.* 1.155).
8. Mommsen (1891), 5; Körte (1904), 227–8; Dörpfeld (1935), 25–6, 119–22; Herrmann (1980), 62–3, 68–9; Ziehen (1942), 70; Rohde (1925), 117; Pache (2004), 93.
9. Burkert (1983); Nagy (1986), 79–80; Krummen (1990), 168–83; Pache (2004), 92; *OCD*³, sv. Pelops.
10. Herrmann (1980); Burkert (1983); Nagy (1986).
11. Kyrieleis (2006), 15 and pl. 8.2.
12. Dörpfeld (1892), 56–7; (1935), 118–24; Kyrieleis (2002; 2006).
13. Dörpfeld (1935), 118–22; Eder (2001), 202–3; Kyrieleis (2002), 215–16; Rambach (2003), 241–9; Kyrieleis (2006), 25–7.
14. For Mycenaean finds, all from mixed layers, and presence at the site, see Eder (2006), 189–92; Kyrieleis (2006), 61 n. 233, 78 n. 316; Rambach (2002b), 200; Knauss (2004).
15. See Kyrieleis (2006), 35, 46, 61; cf. Furtwängler (1890), 2–4; Mallwitz (1972), 84–8; (1988), fig. 6.2; Morgan (1993), 22–7. The earliest pottery is sub-Mycenaean, mid-eleventh century BC, see Eder (2001), 204; (2006), 143.

16. For specific groups of finds, see Heilmeyer (1972; 1979); Maass (1978); Philipp (1981).
17. For the animal bones recovered in the excavations of 1987–96, see Benecke (2006).
18. Kyrieleis (2006), 27–55. For indications of various levelling horizons, see Furtwängler (1890), 2–3; Schilbach (1984); Mallwitz (1999); Kyrieleis (2002), 217.
19. Kyrieleis (2006), 33–48, 54–5. The finds in the Black Layer were particularly prominent at this concentration of stones, see Furtwängler (1890), 2; cf. Dörpfeld and Borrmann (1892), 163; Curtius and Adler (1897), pl. 6b; Mallwitz (1988), fig. 6.2.
20. Kyrieleis (2006), 46–55.
21. For a discussion, see Mallwitz (1988), 79–81, 94–9. The chronology of the introduction of the various contests lies beyond the scope of this paper, see Lee (2001).
22. On the difficulties in reconciling the literary traditions surrounding the beginning of these events, see the discussion by Ulf (1997).
23. Schilbach (1984), 236; Morgan (1993), 25–6; Valavanis (2006), 143–4. Cf. Sinn (1991), 35–7, who argues that one reason for the early attraction of Olympia was the oracle of Zeus, especially in matters of war.
24. Mallwitz (1999), 188–99; Gauer (1975); Eder (2006), 205.
25. This is also the period of the earliest monumental architecture: the so-called temple of Hera, constructed around 600 BC, see Kyrieleis (2006), 48–55; Mallwitz (1966); cf. Moustaka (2002) and Kyrieleis (2006), 60–1 for this building being the first stone temple of Zeus; the embankment for the treasury terrace created at the turn of the eighth–seventh centuries BC, see Schilbach (1984), 235–6; Mallwitz (1999), 220–2.
26. Kyrieleis (2006), 55–61; (2002), 219; Mallwitz (1972), 92.
27. Kyrieleis (2002), 219; Mallwitz (1988), 86. The figurines display a rich variety, including not only cattle and horses, but also rams, dogs, hares, and beetles, see Heilmeyer (1972; 1979); cf. Himmelmann (2002). To connect the horse and charioteer figurines with horse races, often suggested to constitute a link to the myth of Pelops and the institution of the games, is problematic, since these figurines represent a great number of different types, including what seems to be war chariots, see Mallwitz (1988), 96; Morgan (1993), 23; Himmelmann (2002), 95; Ratinaud (2007). Even to see the tripods as prizes in early athletic contests is not convincing, considering that there are as many as 200–300, and they are probably better regarded as prestigious votive offerings of individuals, i.e. examples of conspicuous consumption by elite visitors, see the discussion by Maass (1978), 2–4; Sinn (1991), 35; Morgan (1993), 24–6; Ratinaud (2007).
28. Kyrieleis (2006), 55–62; Mallwitz (1988), 89.

29. Kyrieleis (2006), 55–8. Dörpfeld's Pelopion I, (1935, 25, 37, 118–24) corresponds to the EH II *tumulus*, but has no connection with the later cult of Pelops.
30. Dörpfeld (1892), 57; (1935), 118–22; Rambach (2002b); Kyrieleis (2006), 55–61.
31. Dörpfeld (1892), 57; (1935), 118, 121; Curtius (1897), 73–4. The latest excavations at the Pelopion could not provide any more precise dating for the wall, see Kyrieleis (2006), 58 n. 219.
32. If the enclosure of this phase followed the later precinct wall, the stone plan showing the actual preserved remains, found in the earliest excavations, demonstrates that there would have been an awkward match between the southern end of the western wall and the north-western corner of the propylon, see Curtius and Adler (1897), pl. 6b and my Fig. 4.3.
33. Dörpfeld (1935), 121–2, fig. 25; cf. Kyrieleis (2006), 57–8. For the use of stone posts, see also the temenos of the Seven against Thebes, found at Argos (Pariente 1992, 195–7 and pl. 35) and the monument for the eponymous heroes on the Athenian agora (Camp 1986, 98–9).
34. See the placement of this propylon in Dörpfeld (1935), 121, fig. 24.
35. Stephen G. Miller (2002), n. 3, has also recently doubted the existence of this wall. He points out that an enclosure wall is only mentioned by Pausanias (5.13.1), not by any earlier source, such as Pindar.
36. Dörpfeld (1892), 57; (1935), 37, 119–22, figs. 21–2, and pl. 5, lower profile; Curtius and Adler (1892), pl. 42. The plans published in Curtius and Adler (1897), pl. 6b and (1892), pl. 42, are not entirely consistent as to the eastern extent of wall C.
37. Due to the scantiness of the foundations, Dörpfeld (1892), 57, suggested that the columns probably were of wood.
38. Meißner (1959), 178–83; Rupp (1974), 360–73; Cooper (1988), 280; Weber (1990), 35–50.
39. Kalapodi: Felsch (1991), 86; Isthmia: Gebhard (1993a), 158. Cf. Ohnesorg (2005), 234–5.
40. Mallwitz (1982), 261–70, found north of the East baths.
41. Paus. 6.24.9. There was also a similar monument at Sikyon, Paus. 2.7.2–3.
42. Stafford (2005), 400–6. For the iconographical evidence, see van Straten (1979); *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Herakles, 801–2, nos. 1368–80.
43. Paus. 5.13.2. In Pausanias' time only the later propylon must have been visible.
44. Though the designation Peloponnesos, 'the island of Pelops', found already in the Homeric hymn to Pythian Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 250, 290, 419, 430, 432), is an indication of Pelops being an important figure already at an earlier date, the early myths do not connect Pelops to Olympia. It is only by the text of Pindar that we have written evidence for a cult at this site.

45. Pind. *Ol.* 1.90–3; trans. by W. Race (Loeb).
46. The evidence is discussed in Ekroth (2002), 171–2, 178, 190–2; cf. Slater (1989); Gerber (1982), 141–5; Currie (2005), 74–5. Cf. Pelops' sceptre being honoured each day with *theoxenia* at Chaeronea, Paus. 9.40.11–12.
47. For the meaning of the *haimakouria*, see Ekroth (2002), 171–2, 190–2.
48. Gerber (1982), 142.
49. For this particular use of blood in hero-cults, see Ekroth (2002), 265–8.
50. The pouring out of the blood is a modification of the standard procedure at *thysia*, where also the blood normally would have been kept and eaten, see Ekroth (2002), 242–51.
51. Whether the altar is that of Pelops or of Zeus, is of less importance, see further below, n. 81.
52. *LSA* 32: 7–9, 43–5: 197–196 BC; Jameson (1994), 41–2. For temporary structures in sanctuaries, such as tents and baldachins, see Wacker (1996), 91–5.
53. For the staging of *theoxenia*, see Jameson (1994). Since tetrastyla were also used in connection with altars (see Ohnesorg 2005, 234–5), it is possible that the tetrastylon at the Pelopion marked the site where the sacrifices were performed. On the digging of a pit for the libation of blood, see Ekroth (2002), 191.
54. Hausmann (1996), 6–7, no. 4, pl. 1. The well went out of use in the Hellenistic period but the terracotta may be earlier.
55. For meat trays of this shape, often represented in relief on marble cult tables, see Gill (1991), 69–86, pls. 20–34.
56. Hausmann's suggestion (1996, 6) that the two thin objects are lower front legs of a goat seems implausible, since such parts have hardly any meat on them and would therefore not be selected as choice portions. Metacarpals and metatarsals were usually discarded at the initial butchering, before the meat of the animal was divided and distributed, see Ekroth (2008a), 261. The omphalos bowl may also be a fish plate, as the one shown on a Late Classical/Early Hellenistic lead table with offerings from Miletus, see Krumme (2007) (I am grateful to Michael Krumme for providing me with this reference).
57. Dittenberger and Purgold (1896), no. 64, line 33, dated to 28–24 BC, the 189th Olympiad.
58. Cf. *IG* II² 2499, a decree of the orgeones of the Athenian hero Egletes (306/5 BC), stating that his sanctuary had a *hieron* (shrine), an *oikia* (dining room), an *optanion* (kitchen) and a *stege*, the latter usually taken to mean an improvised shed or shelter, see Ferguson (1944), 80 with n. 27.
59. The *mageiros* and *kathemerothytes* are also listed in another contemporary inscription, which does not mention the *steganomos*, see Dittenberger and Purgold (1896), no. 62, 36–24 BC.

60. Kyrieleis (2006), 55–8.
61. Kyrieleis (2006), 57, 79, argues that the cult of Pelops must have been established in the sixth century, around 600 BC at the earliest, in connection with the reorganization of the sanctuary. Dörpfeld (1935), 37, 123, suggested a date contemporary with the construction of the 'Her-aion', which he dated to the ninth century BC. Mallwitz (1972), 80, 134; (1988), 86, has also proposed an Archaic date.
62. Nagy (1986), 83, finds that the passage reflects the official aetiology of Olympia.
63. Kyrieleis (2006), 80–3.
64. Bravo (2006), 11, 32, 212. Also at Isthmia there may have been a cult of Palaemon in the early fifth century, see Pind. *Isth.* frg. 5; Pache (2004), 137.
65. Bacch. 9.10–14; Bravo (2006), 81–163, 223; Pache (2004), 95–143.
66. See Bravo (2006), 216–27, esp. 223.
67. Kyrieleis (2006), 49–55, argues that around 600 BC the altar of Zeus was moved from its previous location (to the north-west of the prehistoric mound to the east of the Pelopion) in connection with the levelling of the Black Layer and the erection of the first stone temple.
68. Rambach (2002a). When Building VII was discovered in (1880), it was misinterpreted as the foundations for the ash altar of Zeus, see Dörpfeld and Borrmann (1892), 161–3; Curtius and Adler (1897), pl. 6b.
69. For the treasury terrace, see Mallwitz (1999), 220. On the first stone temple and its identification, see Moustaka (2002); Kyrieleis (2006), 48–55, 60–1.
70. Mallwitz (1988), 94–9. Mallwitz (1999), 185–6, emphasizes the separation of cult and athletic activity. For the suggestion that Stadium I may have ended no less than 20 m from the Pelopion, see Brulotte (1994).
71. Deneken (1886–90), 2495; Farnell (1921), 357e; Ziehen (1942), 70. Cf. Burkert (1983), 96–7, taking the western entrance of the Pelopion as one element of the polar tension between the 'dark' Pelops and the 'light' Zeus; cf. Scanlon (2002), 87. On the difficulties of identifying 'chthonian' traits in hero cults, see Ekroth (2002), *passim*.
72. The finds from the Black Layer have to be left aside, since this material was deposited at the end of the seventh century before the cult at the Pelopion was established.
73. *To the west*: Philipp (1981), nos. 100, 123, 456, 825, 1120, 1146; Bol (1978), nos. 167, 210, 275, 278, 335, 339d, 348; Br 11563; 349; Br 11606, 400b; Gauer (1991), nos. Le 166, Le 222, P 4, P 17, M 2; Philipp (2004), nos. 16, 52, 62. *South-west of the Pelopion*: Bol (1989), no. A 266; Philipp (1981), nos. 125, 129, 582, 897; Bol (1978), nos. 263, 302, 305, 350; Br 10282, 399a; Gauer (1991), nos. Le 96a, Le 234, Var 28; Kunze (1991), 106, nos. 36, 37; Philipp (2004), no. 15; Hitzl (1996), nos. 161, 389, 414,

438. *To the south*: Gauer (1991), no. M 19. *To the southeast*: Bol (1978), nos. 338; Br 9853, 348; Br 9854. *To the east*: Gauer (1991), no. Le 243.
74. Kyrieleis (2003b), 96–110. For the flooding of the west Altis, see Kyrieleis (1992), 22; (2003b), 94–5, fig. 3; Knauss (2004), 31.
75. Schauer (2003), 155–205; Kyrieleis (1992), 21–2. The decrease in digging wells after 450 BC may be a result of the water drains constructed within the Altis in the fifth century BC, but also of Olympia and the games declining in popularity in this period, see Mallwitz (1999), 194–6.
76. Paus. 5.15.12; cf. Lee (2001), 74–5. The location of the Prytaneion at this date has been disputed. Most scholars, including Mallwitz (1988), fig. 6.2; Kyrieleis (2003b); Stephen G. Miller (1971); (1978), 86–91 and 235–9, and Schauer (2003), consider it to have been located to the north-west of the ‘Heraion’. Mallwitz (1981) suggests a separation between the sanctuary of Hestia and the Prytaneion, while Sinn (*NeueP* 8, (2000), 1177) proposes that the Prytaneion was not moved to the north-west until the Roman period.
77. Schilbach (1995); Mallwitz (1999), 193; Kyrieleis (2003b), 95. For cooking equipment from this area, see Kunze and Schleif (1944), 96–104.
78. Mallwitz (1972), 266; Wacker (1996), 85.
79. Kyrieleis (1992), 21–2; Sinn (1993), 95–6; Wacker (1996), 80–107. Under the courtyard of the palestra, metal parts from a tent have been found, see Wacker (1996), 91 and n. 67; cf. Kyrieleis (2003b), 95.
80. Pind. *Ol.* 10.45–6: οὐ πολλὸν ἴδε πατρίδα πολυκτέανον ὑπὸ στερεῷ πυρὶ / πλαγαῖς τε σιδάρου βαθὺν εἰς ὄχετόν ἄτας. On the concept of *Festwiesen*, see Sinn (1992), 183.
81. I have argued earlier that the altar, *bomos*, mentioned in Pind. *Ol.* 1.93, is to be identified as that of Pelops (see Ekroth 2002, 191), opposing the view that a hero could not have a *bomos*. However, it is possible that this altar is actually that of Zeus, where the main sacrifices took place, though in that case Pelops must have had his own altar as well, or his sacrifices were performed on the altar of Zeus.
82. For the weights and their distribution, see Hitzl (1996), 102–3, and pl. 43; cf. Baitinger and Eder (2001), 192–4, on the weights as evidence for the importance of Olympia as a market place linked to the games. For a different interpretation of the use of the weights, see Siewert (1996), who suggests that they were dedications made of metal offerings which had been melted down.
83. Hitzl (1996), 96–7 and pl. 43; nos. 22, 61, 76, 86, 149, 159, 161, 178, 299, 302, 389, 402, 403, 411, 414, 438. Hitzl dates the weights from the Archaic period to the early 4th century BC, while Siewert (1996) has proposed a chronological span from 430 to 350 BC. For the weighing of meat at sacrifices, see Ekroth (2008a), 270–2.

84. Hitzl (1996), 99: 12 weights inside the Prytaneion, 19 to the north of the building, and 5 to the south.
85. Gauer (1991), Le 96a, Le 166, Le 222, Le 234, Le 287a, Le 304, Le 333, P 4, P 16, P 17, M 2, M 19, Hy 22, Var 28. On the *panegyris* for attracting visitors hoping to be given free meat and wine, see de Ligt and de Neeve (1988), 399.
86. A parallel to Pelops' role at Olympia can be found in the cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi, which was linked to both the *theoxenia* festival of this sanctuary and the distribution of meat, see Kurke (2005), 95–103.
87. Pind. *Ol.* 1.48–50. Burkert (1983), 100–1; Nagy (1986), 79; Slater (1989), 495–7; Krummen (1990), 160–83; cf. Hdt. 1.59.
88. Burkert (1983), 100–1; Nagy (1986), 77–81.
89. On the boiling of sacrificial meat, as well as the osteological evidence, see Ekroth (2008a), 274–6 and (2008b), 99–102.
90. LSS 61, 74–82; late second century BC.
91. LSS 61, 77–9: τοῦ κριοῦ τὰ κρέα [όλο]μελῇ ἀποξέσαντες παρατιθέτωσαν τῷ ἀγᾶλματι. For the terminology, see Gill (1991), 12–14; Jameson (1994), 36.
92. On the importance of meat distribution, as well as market functions, at Greek festivals, see de Ligt and de Neeve (1988), esp. 399.
93. Lee (2001), 51–2 and 75.
94. For the athletes dining in the Prytaneion, see Paus. 5.15.12; Lee (2001), 74–5.
95. Krummen (1990), 162, suggests that athletes must have offered a thanksgiving sacrifice to Pelops after the competitions.
96. See Pind. *Ol.* 1.93–9.
97. Further to the south, to the west of the temple of Zeus, grew the wild olive tree from which branches for the wreaths given to the victorious athletes were cut (Paus. 5.15.3).
98. Schleif and Zschietzschmann (1944).
99. Schleif and Zschietzschmann (1944), 2; Huwendiek (1996).
100. Cooper and Morris (1990), 75. Due to stylistical traits in the architecture, the architect of the Philippeion may have been Macedonian, see Stella G. Miller (1973).
101. Schultz (2007) has suggested that the architecture of the Philippeion and the setting of the statues may have been intended as a viewing place, a *theatron*, and that hymns may have been performed here. A *theoxenia* ceremony does not seem incompatible with such a performance. Peter Schultz informs me (personal communication) that the floor of the Philippeion just inside the door is worn, an indication of the building being frequently entered. On Philip's kinship with Pelops, see Stella G. Miller (1973), 192.

102. For the remains, see Dörpfeld (1892), 56–7; (1935), 25 and 118–21; Mallwitz (1972), 133–5; Kyrieleis (2006), 58.
103. See Curtius (1897), 73–4; Dörpfeld (1892), 57; (1935), 118 and 121; Mallwitz (1972), 134. The preserved sections are built in different techniques, cut blocks to the east and more irregular, polygonal stones to the west.
104. Kyrieleis (2006), 58 and n. 219; (2003a), 31–2. Miller (2002), 249 n. 3, has suggested that the propylon and the wall may not even be contemporary, though according to Kyrieleis (2006), 58 n. 219, the monumentality of the propylon calls for it having been connected to the wall.
105. On the decline of the games, see Mallwitz (1999), 196. In Olympia at large, there are some changes in the votive practices during the fourth century BC; for example, official weights stopped being produced after the late fourth century BC, see Hitzl (1996); Siewert (1996).
106. Mallwitz (1972), 94–6; Baitinger and Eder (2001), 189. The programme of the Olympic Games was also reformed after the Persian Wars, see Lee (2001).
107. Pausanias (5.13.1) mentions statues in the Pelopion in the second century AD, but there is no Classical evidence to clarify the situation. For Classical finds from the precinct and the area around it, see above n. 73. The Archaic stone of Bybon, weighing 150 kg, seems to have been displayed inside the Pelopion, see Dittenberger and Purgold (1896), no. 717; *ThesCRA* I (2004), 314, Dedications, no. 201, sixth century BC.
108. On Elis' relation to Olympia after the victory over Pisa in the 570s BC and the political use of the sanctuary, see Wacker (1996), 113; Morgan and Coulton (1997), 112–14; Baitinger and Eder (2001), 188–90; Roy (2002), 256–60; (2004), 489–501, esp. 496–8; Nielsen (2007), 29–54.
109. For a review of the sources for the *synoikism* of Elis, as well as its effects, see Roy (2002), 249–64; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994); Morgan and Coulton (1997); Baitinger and Eder (2001), 188–90. For the effect of the *synoikismos* on Olympia, see Crowther (2003), 61–2.
110. For the temple and the sculptures, see Barringer (2005); Säflund (1970); Herrmann (1987), 57–148. The conflict with Pisa, dated to approximately the same time, ended with Elis conquering the city, and the spoils from this victory are usually thought to have funded the construction of the temple of Zeus. Tulunay (1998) has suggested that the central figure in the west pediment is to be identified with Pelops and not Apollo.
111. Kyrieleis (1997); Wacker (1996), 113; M. C. Miller (2005); cf. Kyrieleis (2006), 79–83, for the political motivation of the introduction of Pelops' cult in the sixth century BC. Also the west pediment has been proposed to bear a similar message, see Heiden (2003).

112. On the transfer of heroes' bones for political purposes, see Boedeker (1993); McCauley (1999).
113. For the particular role of poliad divinities, whether gods or heroes, within a city's pantheon, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), 307–12.
114. For the presence of *xenoi* in sanctuaries, see Funke (2006); Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), 296; Crowther (2003), 63; Krauter (2004), 53–113.
115. Butz (1996), esp. 78–82, dated for the late fifth to the early fourth century BC. She suggests that the prohibition was meant to exclude Athenians from the cult.
116. On the myth and cult of the Archegetes Anios and the remains of the Archegesion, see Bruneau (1970), 413–30.
117. The epigraphical evidence attests several instances of *xenoi* being banned from cults which were of particular concern to the identity of the community and where the consumption of the meat from such sacrifices had to take place within the sanctuary, presumably in order to assure that only those entitled to eat it received a share, see *LS* 96, 24–6, c.200 BC, concerning religious changes on Mykonos after the island's *synoikism*; cf. Ekroth (2002), 320–5; Butz (1996).
118. Dörpfeld (1892), 57.
119. At Olympia, Hadrian enlarged the stadium, modernized the Prytaneion, the Bouleuterion, and the Theokoleon, and had baths built, see Scanlon (2002), 54–5, cf. 40–63 on the Olympic Games in the Roman period; cf. Mallwitz (1972), 108–9. For Hadrian's work at Isthmia, see Gebhard (1993b).
120. Paus. 15.13.1–7.
121. Paus. 5.13.6; 6.22.1.
122. Paus. 5.13.1.
123. Paus. 5.13.2–3: *θύουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες: τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ ξυλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ: τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ ἄλλου δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός: ὃς δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Ἡλείων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Πέλοπι ἱερείου φάγη τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν Δία.*
124. Ekroth (1999); on the difficulties of Pausanias as a source for Greek cults from the Archaic and Classical periods, see also Pirenne-Delforge (2006).
125. On the relation between hero cults and pollution, see Ekroth (2002), 237–42, 263–5, 330–2.
126. Pausanias (5.13.1) speaks of his enclosure as being separate (*ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος*) inside the Altis.

127. For the list of altars, see Paus. 5.14.4–5.15.11; Weniger (1909). The altars next to the Pelopion were dedicated to Dionysus and the Graces, to one of the Muses and to the nymphs, see Paus. 5.14.10.
128. Another reason for not including the altar of Pelops may simply have been that the rituals of Pelops consisted of annual animal sacrifices while the 70 altars in Pausanias' list were used for monthly sacrifices of frankincense, cakes, olive branches, and wine by the Eleans. The ash altar of Zeus, on which daily sacrifices, both private and Elean, were performed, is also dealt with separately, see Paus. 5.13.8–11. Hölscher (2002), 334–8, points out that the ritual space of the monthly sacrifices by the Eleans does not correspond to the religious space around the entrances to the major buildings.
129. See Le Guen-Pollet (1991); Ekroth (2008a), 264–7.
130. Jeppesen, Højlund, and Aaris-Sørensen (1981), 67. Missing from the deposit were the section from the 4th or 5th to the 7th cervical vertebrae, or even the first two thoracic vertebrae.
131. See Ekroth (1999), 148–57.
132. Evjen (1992), 101; Mallwitz (1999), 198; Scanlon (2002), 28. For the evidence, see Rhode (1925), 141 n. 22 (Rhode, however, takes the funeral games to be the origin for the Panhellenic games); Nagy (1986), 74; Pache (2004), 84–180. At Olympia, there are a number of different versions of who founded the games for whom. According to Pindar, Heracles founded the games for Zeus (*Ol.* 10.24), while Pausanias names several founders as well as refounders, though always with Zeus as the recipient (5.7.6–5.8.5). The tradition that the Olympic Games originally belonged to Pelops is found in the second century AD Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrHist* 257, F 1.6), the scholia to Pindar (*Hypothesis Isthmiorum*) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 273.5). See also Ulf (1997) on how the various literary accounts of the festival, the games and their institutions were influenced by contemporary political and historical situations.
133. For the cult of Palaemon in its Roman context, see Ekroth (2002), 80–1 and 124–5; see also Gebhard (1993a and 1993b). Significantly, the bone evidence from the offering pits in the Palaemonion (AD 50–early 3rd century) constitutes the only osteologically demonstrated holocaustic sacrifice to a hero, see Gebhard and Reese (2005), esp. 137–9. Another instructive case of the same *interpretatio romana* of what constituted an old and traditional Greek cult are the rituals to Artemis Laphria at Calydon, most likely an Augustan reconstruction, see Pirenne-Delforge (2006).
134. Ekroth (2002), 123–6, 307–8, and 334 n. 88.
135. Burkert's (1983) analysis of the cult of Pelops strongly emphasizes an antithesis between Pelops and Zeus, see also Nagy (1986), 77–81;

Herrmann (1962), 62–3. Kyrieleis (2006), 56, remarks that though cult separates Pelops and Zeus, myth underlines their closeness, Pelops being the protégé of the god.

136. For the problems with this evolutionary view of hero cults, see Ekroth (2002), 335–41.

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Content and Form

Some Considerations on Greek Festivals and Archaeology

J. Rasmus Brandt

PRELUDE

On the seventeenth of May—the day before the participants of the present seminar, of which this publication is the result, arrived at Bergen—Norway celebrated its national day, a secular festival containing many of the ingredients of an ancient religious festival. It is a *commemorative* festival, remembering the day in the year 1814 when the Constitution was signed. It consists of a ‘*ritual*’ process repeated every year in which *processions* make up a central part—not in the form of military parades, but composed mainly of schoolchildren walking behind marching bands. Public speeches are held and the national anthem and national romantic songs are sung, all together creating a sense of *identity*, *inclusiveness*, and *solidarity*. There is no common public *meal*, but it is a day when people meet privately to enjoy breakfast, lunch buffets, and/or dinners together—and the standard food offered for sale in the streets are hot dogs and ice cream, consumed in tons and tons (especially by the young ones). The most significant material *symbols* of the day are the national flag (in red, white, and blue), carried in small versions by everyone (but, of course, also used at other occasions, though limited to the participants of these occasions), and the particular buttonhole bow or rosette in the colours of the flag, in many shapes and sizes, carried

only on this day. In addition, specially made small trumpets and other festive paraphernalia can be found for general entertainment.

Confronted with these items—flags, bows/rosettes, and trumpets/festive paraphernalia—what would a foreigner, with no previous knowledge about Norway, be able to say about the national festival? Not much, but perhaps more than expected at first glance. The flag, to talk in semiotic terms, is a *denotative* or easily accessible symbol, generally used in circumstances of national importance. The foreigner would perhaps also notice that the design of the flag is very similar to that of Denmark's (a white cross on a red background), but with an additional blue cross within the white cross, thus presenting the same colours as the American and French flags. This might lead to a conclusion that the Norwegian festival was instituted to commemorate independence or acts connected with independence—and that this could have occurred at a date not long after American independence and the fall of the Bastille. But what about the significance of the bow/rosette, except for its colours? Here, we have for many a symbol operating on the *connotative* level, a level reserved for the 'initiated'. It once had a meaning, but if you ask a Norwegian today hardly any will know when and for what reason it was worn first time¹—'we wear bows because that is the custom'—or to put it in other words, the bow/rosette today is a *synchronic* phenomenon, with the original meaning heading towards *diachronic* oblivion.

If we now leave Norway and move back to ancient Greece and try from the occasional material remains to reconstruct the practices and to understand the religious and social meaning of a religious festival, we will be confronted with similar problems of interpretation—and perhaps an even larger series of possible pitfalls.

CONTENT AND FORM

Religious festivals formed the backbone of Greek social and political life, its organisation and institutions, and they can be studied from many points of view, whether of a religious, anthropological, sociological, historical, or philological nature. They can also be studied from an archaeological point of view, i.e. looking at the material culture, or the monuments and artefacts connected with rituals, to which can be added the faunal and floral species, employed in the

celebrations. Together, these kinds of studies can give insights into what I shall call the content and form of a festival.

Content and form are two central concepts for the understanding of ancient festivals and rituals. By *content* I mean the system of ideas used by humans to represent themselves within the society of which they are a part. That is, content comprises the myths, *aitia*, and cosmological conceptions used by humans to remember past events and to explain civic concerns and social customs and phenomena; in other words, content is the collective cultural memory of a festival. *Form*, on the other hand, is the way in which the content is celebrated, whether through recitations, songs, dances, processions, athletic games, offerings, sacrifices, communal meals, or in other ways, all being part of the ritual process of a festival. The distinction between the two concepts, as I shall try to demonstrate, is fundamental. As archaeologists, when studying the material culture related to worship, we above all analyse its form. However, when discussing content and form it is important to remember that content is less liable to change than form, and that the change of form is not tantamount to a change of content. By equating content and form one risks giving synchronic answers to diachronic phenomena.²

In a few cases we have information on both content and form, but most often not. By studying archaeological materials (for example, buildings, votive dedications, depictions, and floral and faunal remains) as an expression of form, we may also, due to other ancient sources being unavailable, approach the content. We may not be able to unravel the particular myths, *aitia*, and/or cosmological conceptions lying behind the celebrations of every festival, but we might gain some insights into their social function, and thus the generic content of the festival celebrated.

In the present study, weight will be put on materiality and meaning,³ a meaning which first of all will be sought in the archaeological material itself, not in possible preserved written evidence. The underlying aim is, through material studies, to approach an understanding of the religious and social function of the cults/festivals studied. This is an important distinction to make, since in studies of archaeological materials connected to cults and rituals, written evidence has had a larger impact on interpretations (often with a view to political events) than the religious and social context of the materials themselves.⁴ This is understandable since written data are normally more easily readable than archaeological ones. However, written evidence and

archaeological materials are complementary historical sources created under different premises; they seldom tell the same story, rather each one contributes a part of it.

Groups of archaeological materials and the ritual process

From an archaeological point of view, three groups of archaeological materials connected to the ritual process can be distinguished:

1. Architecture: building structures actively used during festivities, such as altars, temples, and houses for communal meals and for storing and guarding ritual objects and special offerings inside the sacred area (*temenos*) of the divinity celebrated.
2. Artefacts: divided between individual offerings (votives⁵) and those that are part of the ritual paraphernalia, i.e. equipment used for communal ritual acts and practices. This group includes pictorial representations, whether showing ritual acts or being part of the repertoire of motives connected to the festive occasion.
3. Faunal and floral species used in the celebrations.

The ritual process I define as the sum of ritual acts and practices operating on two levels: on the *communal* level, in which the worshippers participate in the regularly occurring festivals and celebrations, and on the *individual* level, in which the worshippers at any time of the year enter into a personal dialogue with the venerated deities, according to personal wishes and needs, making vows and dedicating votive gifts. It is not easy to distinguish the two levels in the archaeological material, as there are many overlapping areas, but generally speaking, cult equipment and artefacts connected with ritual acts and practices will more likely belong to the communal level, while offerings of statues and figurines, house models, jewellery, armour and weapons, domestic utensils etc., are more likely to belong to the individual level.⁶ Material groups connected with ritual acts and practices on the communal level will generally (but not always) refer to the form of the festival; their symbolic language is usually more easily comprehensible, being of a denotative character. Material groups connected with ritual acts and practices on the individual level will in general (but not always) refer more closely to the social and religious meaning or content of the festival; their

symbolic language is more personal and reserved for the insider, being of a connotative character.

Character of material deposits

Inside the *temene*, artefacts used in the ritual process (i.e. both as ritual equipment and as votives) can be found deposited in both open and closed contexts. Bonghi Jovino has made an interesting attempt to define these deposits and their function, distinguishing between those related to foundation, celebration, propitiation, and obliteration.⁷ However, from the publications about the sanctuaries selected for the present investigation (see below), it is difficult to apply these distinctions; most of the material appears to come from casual scatters within the sanctuaries, and therefore the archaeological material will be treated on an equal footing without making particular use of the suggested distinctions.⁸

The archaeological material found within a sanctuary, independently of the kind of deposits it originates from, will on a generic level refer to either content, form, or both. In all cases, whether the excavated material derives from defined deposits or casual scatters, it is dominated by pottery and terracottas. The pottery played for the most part (but not exclusively) a role in the celebrative ritual acts, while the terracottas, *pinakes*, and other objects should generally (but not always) be regarded as offerings from the worshippers.

Sources of error

In this study, in which simple, quantitative statistics make up one important part of the argument, there are two main sources of error. The first regards the nature of excavation, the second the publication of the results.

With the exception of isolated closed-find contexts, a priori no excavation can ever extract all the material originally deposited in a sanctuary. Thus, we can only provide a partial picture of the material culture connected with the ritual processes in a sanctuary. The more material (from a variety of contexts) that is preserved, the better our chances are that the material will statistically reflect the original distribution of the material groups. In quantitative analyses, the

numbers will not reveal exact distribution patterns, but they may reflect distributional tendencies.⁹

No common standard exists for how to publish an excavation. Each excavator follows his/her own needs, whether dictated by personal interests, the complexity and amount of excavated material, the number of collaborators, the publication budget and time schedules, etc. Two general publication models exist, a contextual one and a chronological one. In the first, stress is put on presenting the contexts with the respective find groups; in the other, the material of the find groups is thrown together and presented by phases or periods. Both models are valid, but for a publication to be made easily legible, extensive use of cross-references between contexts and chronological find groups is necessary.¹⁰ Furthermore, the empirical data must be presented in full with context and numerical quantities; concepts such as 'several', 'substantial', 'many', and the like, should never appear as a quantitative measure in a serious excavation publication.¹¹ Beautiful, valuable, and chronologically important objects (in reduced quantities) have a higher publication status than simple, repetitive objects (in large quantities), such as kitchenware and terracotta figurines. Such groups may not be important from a chronological point of view, but they surely will be from a functional one, and thus for a wider understanding of the ritual processes taking place within each sanctuary (an aspect often lacking in publications). In studies on social functions, no material group is more important than another. In addition, in quantitative analyses, equivalent parts of an object (for example, the rim of a vase) should be selected for comparison, but this inevitably entails many compromises, as will also be the case in the following.

Due to the lack of a common standard, many of the empirical data presented in the tables in this study are not always fully comparable. I have, however, decided to include them in the hope that they will reveal tendencies; this is important for a general understanding of what the preserved material culture from a sanctuary can reveal to us about the content and form of given celebrations.

Sites selected for study

I shall, in the form of a few case studies, touch upon all three groups of archaeological materials presented above and discuss their relevance for each of the two levels of the ritual process (the communal

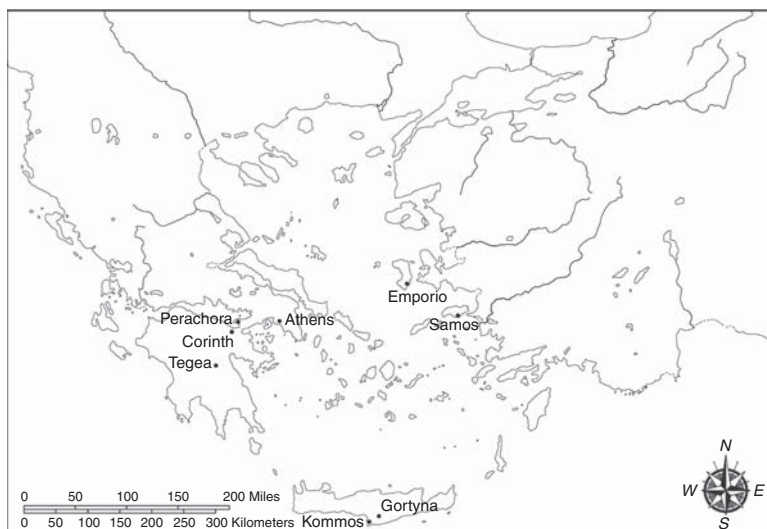


Fig. 5.1. Map of Greece marked with the sanctuaries studied. The Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Cyrene on the north-east coast of Libya is not included.

and the individual one), and thus their significance for investigating the content and form of festivals. The sanctuaries and available material for analysis are picked at random and comprise the sites in the list below (in alphabetical order) (see Fig. 5.1).

- A. Athens, Acropolis—for Athena (mid/late 8th cent. – late 5th c.BC).¹²
- B. Corinth (urban area)—for Demeter and Kore (7th cent. – 146 BC).¹³
- C. Cyrene (extra-urban area)—for Demeter and Kore (late 7th cent. – late 4th cent. BC).¹⁴
- D. Emporio, Chios, the acropolis—for Athena (7th cent. BC – Hellenistic times).¹⁵
- E. Emporio, Chios, harbour sanctuary—for unknown deity (7th cent. BC – Hellenistic times).¹⁶
- F. Gortyna, the acropolis—for Athena (mid 8th cent. – 3rd cent. BC).¹⁷
- G. Kommos, Greek sanctuary—for Zeus and Athena (?) (late 11th cent. BC – AD 160/70).¹⁸
- H. Perachora (extra-urban area)—for Hera Acraea (mid 8th cent. – 4th cent. BC).¹⁹

- I. Samos (extra-urban area)—for Hera (c.600–475 BC).²⁰
- J. Tegea (extra-urban area)—for Athena Alea (9th cent. – 8th cent. BC).²¹

Synchronics and diachronics

Festivals can and ought to be studied both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view. Synchronic studies are important for mapping the ritual process and the social and material milieu of which it was a part. They are furthermore important for semiotic analyses of those signs and symbols, in the shape of words, movements, and artefacts with which the festivals were surrounded. However, festivals were never static and unchangeable, containing a set of fossilized acts and symbols. Instead, they were an active and dynamic system, constantly adjusting to changes in the society. A diachronic study of a festival may give us insights into the reasons how and why changes occurred, and thus give us a more complete view of the symbolic language and the social role and importance of the festival over time. The changes will in most cases be changes of form and not of content.

In an attempt to simplify the presentation and distinguish better between the various find groups and what information they may contain regarding the ritual process, and thus the form and content of ancient festivals (though there are no watertight compartments), I have divided the case studies into three main sections. The first two, on the communal level, will mainly reveal something about the form of the festivals, the last one, on the individual level, possibly something about the content.²²

THE RITUAL PROCESS I: THE COMMUNAL LEVEL (SYNCHRONIC PERSPECTIVES)

From a synchronic point of view, I shall look into the following groups of archaeological materials connected with sanctuaries and the ritual process: pottery and their function, architecture, and floral and faunal species. From the study of these groups will emerge an observation that may have some relevance for the understanding of the celebration of the Panathenaic festival at Athens. This will be the leitmotif that binds this and the following section together.

Pottery and function I—with an architectural touch

In most pottery studies, vases are presented according to shape, decoration, place of production and date. These elements are all relevant for the study of the vases per se, but from the context of ritual use, they are better categorized according to their possible function in the ritual processes. Apart from some special cases (for example, *kernoi*, *loutrophoroi*, *perirrhanteria*, *phialai*, and *thymiateria*) the shapes correspond to those of daily use. Below, I have tentatively divided the vases into three main functional categories (I–III), distributed between seven subcategories referring to their daily functions and ritual use (1–7).²³

- I. *Vases for storage, serving, and drinking*
 1. Containers (amphorae, pelikai, (storage) jars, *pithoi*)
 2. Mixing bowls (*dinoi*, *kraters*, *lebetes*, *psykters*, *stamnoi*, including accompanying stands)
 3. Vases used for serving (flasks, jugs, *oinochoai*, *olpai*)
 4. Vases used for drinking (chalices, cups, *kantharoi*, *kothons*, *kotylai*, *kythoi*, *kylikes*, *lakainai*, *mastoi*, *skyphoi*)
- II. *Vases for eating and preparation/cooking of food*
 5. Vases connected with eating (bowls, dishes, *exaleiptra*, fruit stands, ladles, *lancis*, *lekanides*, plates, saucers, serving platters, two-handled pots)
 6. Vases used for food preparation and cooking (basins, buckets, cooking pots, *chythrai*, mortars, strainers)
- III. *Vases for ritual uses*
 7. Vases for ritual uses/cult equipment (*hydriai*, *kalathoi*,²⁴ *kalpides*, *kernoi*, lamps, lamp holders, *lebetes gamikoi*, libation tubes, *likna*, *loutrophoroi*, *phialai* (*mesomphaloi*), *perirrhanteria*,²⁵ ring vases, stands, *thymiateria*)

This division is carried out according to very generic terms: the allocation of a vase to a category refers to its general use often hidden in its modern denomination (cup, plate, cooking pot, etc.). In addition, I have accepted the denominations made by the authors who published the findings and used these as a guideline for the allocations. There will certainly be different opinions on the allocations, but it is important to keep in mind that the calculations are not made to give exact, irrefutable numbers, but to establish a general distribution

Table 5.1. Synchronic distribution of vase shapes: percentage and (in parentheses) numerical distribution of the functional categories I–III in the sanctuaries listed on pp. 145–6, here arranged according to the presence of vases in category II.

Categories/Sanctuaries	I	II	III	Total
Corinth (Demeter and Kore)	44 (164)	36 (134)	20 (75)	100 (373)
Cyrene (Demeter and Kore)	67 (697)	28 (288)	5 (53)	100 (1038)
Emporio (Athena)	68 (79)	24 (28)	9 (10)	101 (117)
Kommos (Zeus and Athena)	62 (624)	23 (231)	15 (152)	100 (1007)
Emporio (unknown)	81 (470)	17 (97)	2 (11)	100 (578)
Perachora (Hera)	75 (1590)	12 (247)	14 (290)	101 (2127)
Gortyna (Athena)	27 (93)	9 (32)	63 (217)	99 (342)
Tegea (Athena Alea)	86 (48)	9 (5)	5 (3)	100 (56)
Athens (Athena)	78 (1910)	8 (198)	14 (342)	100 (2450)
Samos (Hera)	86 (301)	7 (26)	6 (21)	99 (348)

picture and to see how they compare between the sanctuaries. As we are operating on the communal level in the ritual process I have excluded all vases (and terracotta objects), which were more likely deposited as part of a votive offering on the individual level.²⁶

Table 5.1 presents (both by number and percentages²⁷) the distribution of the three main functional categories in the chosen sanctuaries irrespective of date, i.e. the table gives a *synchronic* picture of the distribution.²⁸ The sanctuaries are arranged according to the percentage presence of ceramics in group II.

With the exception of the acropolis sanctuary at Gortyna, vases connected with storing, serving, mixing, and drinking of wine dominate (category I). This is no surprise, as wine made up an important element in all kinds of ritual acts and feasting.

Objects connected with the ritual process were present in all sanctuaries, but generally in small numbers (category III) without a distinct distribution pattern. Gortyna appears to be a special case: the cult equipment refers in particular to *kernoi*, all belonging to the early phase of the sanctuary, i.e. the eighth and seventh centuries BC, and may need an explanation. Such vases were in the past considered to be connected in particular with the cult of Demeter,²⁹ above all the one at Eleusis,³⁰ but they have also been found in variable concentrations in other sanctuaries. However, the high number of these vases found at Gortyna—perhaps as many as 156³¹—is exceptional. The *kernos* is a composite vessel composed of a circular base (at Gortyna the base is conical or biconical), with additional small-sized vessels of one or

more shapes, such as bowls, plates, cups, etc., that could be filled with first-fruits in the form of grain, lentils, honey, oil, and the like (see Fig. 5.2). As a cult vessel it may have been carried in ritual processions and taken part in the concluding rituals, when the contents of the small ancillary vessels were consumed in one way or another.³² The *kernos* could also be used as a burial offering—its model can be found in the East where it was connected with rivers and springs, and thus also had a life-giving force. The reason for its particular popularity at Gortyna may be connected to these circumstances. The most important festival of the town was the Hallotia festival for the city goddess, Athena, on the acropolis, which



Fig. 5.2. Gortyna. *Kernos*.

celebrated the passage of young boys to becoming full members of society with all its rights and duties. At this festival the bones of Europa, the heroine of the city, were carried in procession in a large myrtle wreath; these bones were the visible proof of the town's existence and independence, which it was the duty of the newly initiated men to protect.³³ The myrtle was associated with fertility and childbirth, as it was a medicine used for closing the uterus to prevent premature delivery.³⁴ This combination of protection symbolized by death (Europa's bones) and re-creation through childbirth (the myrtle wreath) may have found a further ritual parallel in the carrying of *kernoi* with first-fruits in the festival procession. The first-fruits were normally connected to fertility cults, but they could also symbolize the end of one status and the birth of a new one, in a festival which reconfirmed the town's existence.

If the figures in Table 5.1 reflect the nature of the ritual actions, a comparison of the two acropolis sanctuaries at Gortyna and Athens respectively, both dedicated to Athena, appears to demonstrate some notable differences in the ways the city goddess was celebrated. At Gortyna, the high presence of ritual objects indicates a different sequence and composition of the ritual acts from those at Athens, as also demonstrated by the objects themselves: at Gortyna they are primarily *kernoi*, whereas at Athens they are *phialai* for pouring wine over the altar fire before slaughtering and roasting sacrificial animals. In Athens, wine drinking—the wine perhaps served directly from the mixing bowls and containers into the drinking cups—appears to have constituted a central part of the celebrations, while at Gortyna this element seems to have been downplayed. In both places, however, plates and bowls/saucers appear to have played a minor role in the sacrificial meal, with manually consumed meat forming the major component, if not the only foodstuff.

The Demeter and Kore sanctuaries at Corinth and Cyrene, respectively, are both characterized by a high percentage of vessels connected with eating and food preparation. To these two sanctuaries can also be added the Zeus and Athena sanctuary at Kommos and the cults at Emporio. In the other sanctuaries this custom plays a lesser role. A special feature of the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth (and to a lesser degree at Cyrene) is the high number of small buildings of more or less standard size, identified as *hestiatoria*, or houses for communal meals (see Figs. 5.3–4). They were built to contain couches, or *klinai*, on which the worshippers could recline

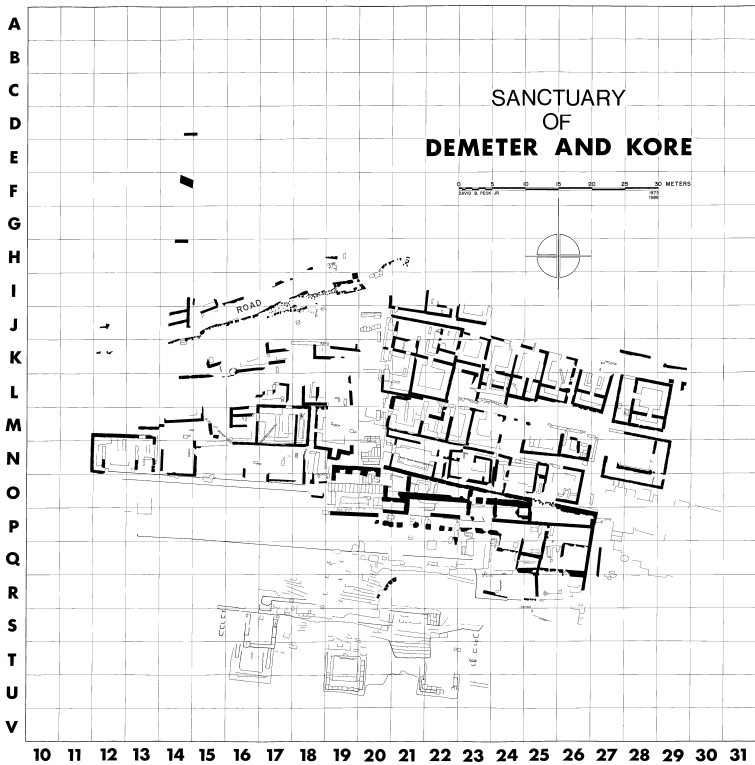


Fig. 5.3. Corinth. Plan of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore with its many *hestiatoria*.

while sharing the ritual meals.³⁵ On what basis and for whom among the worshippers the houses were built—they were far too few to contain all the worshippers—the archaeological material does not reveal, but a division based on social status and kinship should not be excluded. At Kommos, multiple, standard-sized buildings are lacking; here, the sacred buildings are composed of two early temples, A (tenth–ninth century BC) and B (eighth–seventh century BC), and a later one, C (fourth century BC). In Hellenistic times, a slightly smaller building (A1) was added to the latest temple (C) on its northern, long side. In its turn a third building (B), was some time later added to the eastern front of A1, thus creating some sort of a two-sided courtyard in front of the temple (see Fig. 5.5).³⁶ Building

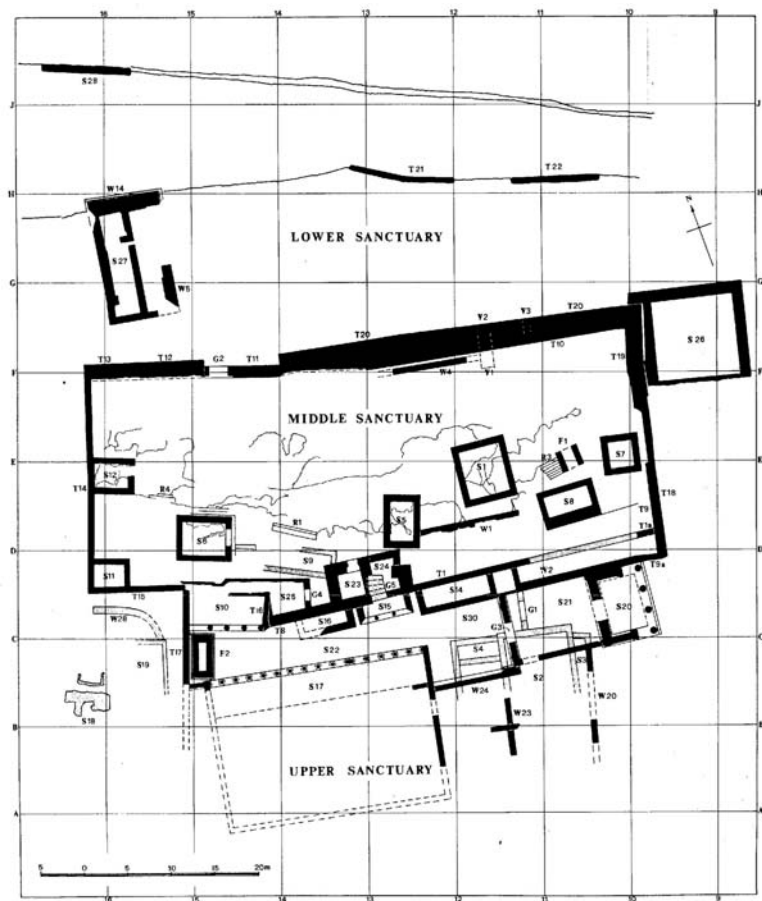


Fig. 5.4. Cyrene. Plan of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore with its many *hestiatoria*.

A1, measuring internally 6.70×9.57 m and with couches on all four walls, has been considered to be a dining hall with room for some fourteen worshippers;³⁷ building B, composed of two non-commun-
 icating rooms, is considered to be a kitchen (towards the east) and living quarters for the guardian of the temple (towards the west). The high number of plates and bowls/saucers found in this sanctuary, especially in its latest phase (see Table 5.2 below), is one argument which could support the interpretation.

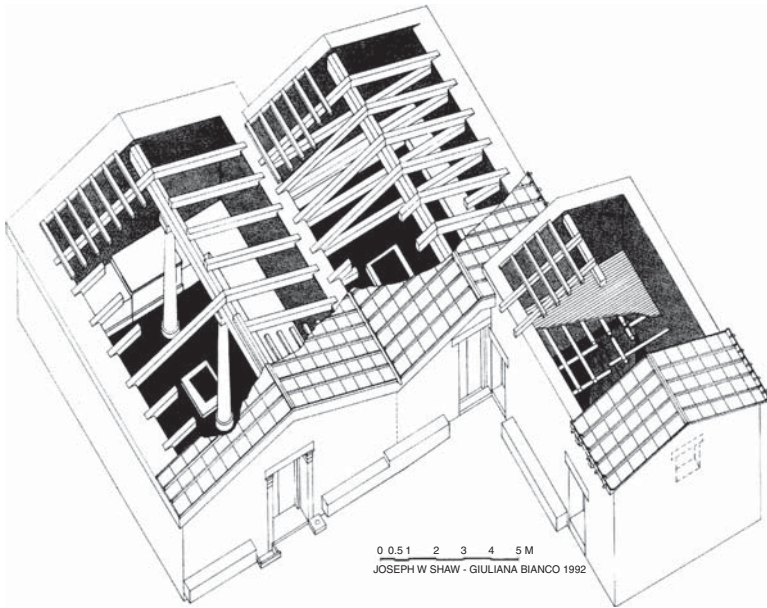


Fig. 5.5. Kommos. Plan of the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena. Temple C; *hestiatorion* A1; building B.

Such additional buildings are lacking from the two sanctuaries at Emporio and therefore cannot explain the high number of vases connected with preparing and eating food there. It cannot be ruled out, however, that such activities could also have been performed in the open without the need of especially reserved buildings.

Faunal and floral evidence

A central part of most festivals was the communal meal following the slaughter of the sacrificial animals and the meat distribution. As discussed in many publications, evidence of animal presence in sanctuaries and their sacrifice can be found in four different kinds of media:³⁸

1. In literary sources and inscriptions.
2. In pictorial representations (sculptures, panel and vase paintings) showing processions, preparative actions at the altar, and rarely, the butchering itself.

3. Animal bones found in the sanctuaries.
4. In votive figurines found in the sanctuaries.

The first three examples give information on the communal level, the last one, being a votive offering, on the individual level. Written sources and inscriptions provide important information, which should be compared with pictorial representations and animal bones found in sanctuaries. The first two sources, however, only give part of the picture, since it is a recurring observation that more animal species were consumed at the sanctuaries than the one most favoured by the celebrated deity. At the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth, in addition to young pigs (pigs being the favoured animal of Demeter³⁹), goats/sheep, tiny fish, and sea urchins were consumed. It is therefore no surprise to find pig bones also at Cyrene, but this does not mean that only pork was eaten there. The pig bones made up 78 per cent of the total animal bones, the rest being divided between sheep/goats (17 per cent), cattle (7 per cent), and other animals (2 per cent); of the smallest category, a half are unidentified bones of mammals, birds, and fish, while the rest belong to dogs, chickens and equids).⁴⁰ Among the pigs, a third were butchered before the age of 1 year, two-thirds before the age of 2.5 years and only 11 per cent survived to the age of 3.5 years.⁴¹ This means that young, but not suckling pigs, were preferred. Apparently, however, not all Demeter sanctuaries contained large samples of pig bones: at altar I at Mytilene, a large sample of burnt bones, dated to the period early/mid-fourth century to late first century BC, produced 'mainly young sheep, goats, and pigs'.⁴² Ancient written information about deities and their favourite sacrificial animals should therefore be read with care—they give a generic picture, though not necessarily true at every instance.

One supposes that for eating meat hands were good enough, and there was no great need for bowls, plates, and dishes. A noticeable presence of this kind of tableware (including some kitchenware) suggests that the sacrificial meal consisted of more than only meat. In the dining rooms at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, samples of wheat, barley, lentils, vetches, peas, grass, figs, grapes, and pomegranates have been identified.⁴³ The edible plants were well suitable for soups and/or stews, in addition to accompanying the sacrificial (or other) meat course(s), while the dried and/or fresh fruit may have served to finish off the meal. Sacrificial meals requiring foods other than the sacrificial meat were thus in need of extra

implements, such as a hearth and pots and casseroles for cooking, plates and saucers/bowls for eating, and a place where this food could be consumed more comfortably than on the ground outdoors. At Corinth, some of the dining rooms were equipped with kitchens and hearths, and to quote the excavation report: 'grinding stones found in the sanctuary must have been used for breaking up the grain; stew-pots were used for boiling lentils, barley, and wheat, while the little fish were fired whole in casseroles'.⁴⁴

Plants were used in different ways at festivals. In the above example, they were utilized as part of the sacred meal, but in regard to this topic we still have too little information from the excavation reports. In pictorial representations of sacrificial processions, some participants, the so-called *thallophoroi*, carry branches, but the tree species are difficult to identify. At some festivals particular plants carried a specific meaning, such as at Athens, where the olive tree, Athena's favourite, was her gift to the Athenians in her victorious competition with Poseidon for the hegemony of the city. Amphorae filled with olive oil were furthermore given as prizes at the Great Panathenaic Games (celebrated every four years). At the Heraion at Samos, the worshippers consumed the sacrificial meat under trees, lying on mats made of branches from the holy shrub of Hera, called *lygos*. This shrub played an important role in the festive celebrations of the goddess,⁴⁵ whether this was chosen because of its nearby presence, or because it was used to keep childbearing under control.⁴⁶ At Gortyna, the bones of Europa, the heroine of the town, were carried in a myrtle wreath in procession at the yearly Hallotia festival.⁴⁷ At Selinunte, celery was the most favoured plant, given as prizes at the local athletic competitions.⁴⁸

Interim summary

To conclude this part of the argument: Vessels connected with wine and wine drinking were a common feature in nearly all investigated sanctuaries and may have been a common denominator in most festivals. Some sanctuaries demonstrate a high presence of cult objects, the explanation for which must be sought in the knowledge we possess from each festival in question, especially with a view to their social function. Vessels connected with the cooking and eating of food, other than the sacrificial meat, are found in most sanctuaries;

those in consistent numbers appear to be mainly associated with sanctuaries containing special buildings for the preparation and consumption of such food. Specific animals and plants were connected with festivals, but they were not exclusive; excavations have demonstrated that even if the venerated deities had a favoured sacrificial animal, this was not an absolute norm.

THE RITUAL PROCESS II: THE COMMUNAL LEVEL (DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVES)

In the preceding section, we looked at a group of ten selected sanctuaries from a generic, synchronic point of view. In the present section, the functional distribution will be analysed for six of the ten sanctuaries in Table 5.1 from a diachronic point of view. The chronological division of the material into phases is not common to all the selected sanctuaries; each follows its own historical development. The selected sanctuaries with their respective time periods are (in alphabetical order):

Athens, Acropolis (for Athena)⁴⁹

Phase I: Mid/late 8th cent. – third quarter of 6th cent. BC

Phase II: Last quarter of 6th cent. – last quarter of 5th cent. BC

Corinth, urban sanctuary (for Demeter and Kore)

Phase I: 7th cent. – c.500 BC

Phase II: c.500 – late 4th cent. BC

Phase III: Late 4th – 146 BC

Cyrene, extra-urban sanctuary (for Demeter and Kore)

Phase I: Last quarter of 7th cent. – late 6th/early 5th cent. BC

Phase II: Late 6th/early 5th cent. – late 4th cent. BC

Phase III: Post-300 BC – Roman period

Kommos (for Zeus and Athena)

Phase I: c.1020–800 BC (the period of temple A)

Phase II: c.800–600 BC (the period of temple B)

Phase III: c.600–375/50 BC (the intermediate period: partial abandonment)

Phase IV: 375/50 BC – AD 160/70 (the period of temple C)

Gortyna, acropolis (for Athena)

Phase I: Mid 8th cent. – 7th cent. BC

Phase II: 6th cent. – 3rd cent. BC

Perachora, extra-urban sanctuary (for Hera Acraea)

Phase I: Late 8th cent. – mid 6th cent. BC

Phase II: Mid 6th cent. – 4th cent. BC

Pottery and function II—some diachronic distributions

In the present case study, the functional categories presented in the previous section will be maintained,⁵⁰ but now divided according to their respective time periods within each sanctuary. In Table 5.2 the material is distributed both according to registered numbers (in parentheses) and according to their percentage distributions within each period and within each sanctuary.

These figures should, of course, be read with care, but for what they may be worth, some generic observations can be made. Seen together, the development of cult practices differs from one sanctuary to another; there is no common chronological trend. Possible changes in the practices, visible in these figures, will therefore have to be

Table 5.2. Vase shapes: percentage and (in parentheses) numerical distribution of the functional categories I–III in the sanctuaries listed on pp. 145–6 (listed alphabetically). Diachronic distribution within each sanctuary.

Categories / Sanctuaries	I	II	III	Total
Athens I	78 (423)	17 (90)	6 (31)	101 (544)
Athens II	79 (1487)	6 (108)	16 (298)	100 (1893)
Corinth I	46 (41)	27 (24)	28 (25)	101 (90)
Corinth II	51 (95)	33 (61)	16 (29)	100 (185)
Corinth III	29 (28)	50 (49)	21 (21)	100 (98)
Cyrene I	65 (501)	29 (222)	6 (45)	100 (768)
Cyrene II	77 (81)	3 (3)	20 (21)	100 (105)
Cyrene III	22 (22)	78 (78)	0 (0)	100 (100)
Gortyna I	26 (78)	10 (30)	64 (193)	100 (301)
Gortyna II	37 (15)	5 (2)	59 (24)	100 (41)
Kommos I	89 (167)	6 (11)	5 (9)	100 (187)
Kommos II	82 (164)	13 (25)	6 (11)	101 (200)
Kommos III	74 (17)	13 (3)	13 (3)	100 (23)
Kommos IV	46 (276)	32 (192)	22 (129)	100 (597)
Perachora I	76 (1335)	11 (202)	13 (220)	100 (1757)
Perachora II	69 (255)	12 (45)	19 (70)	100 (370)

discussed sanctuary by sanctuary, while within each sanctuary considering connections to other developments. To attempt this requires extraction of the necessary data from the total set of information preserved, i.e. written sources, architecture, and archaeological, faunal and floral material.

At Gortyna, on a generic level, the high presence of cultic objects is maintained, the *kernoi* in the second phase being exchanged for other items, such as *hydriai* and *perirrhanteria*.⁵¹ At Perachora, the changes in distribution appear minimal, perhaps indicating a cultic development with few alterations over time. At nearby Corinth, however, the Demeter and Kore sanctuary demonstrates an increased popularity in eating activities, most likely connected with the gradual expansion of the number of *hestiatoria*, and with their development from a one room to a double or triple room structure.⁵² Likewise, at Kommos in the last phase, the marked rise in vases connected with the preparation and consumption of food can be explained by the adding of the *hestiatorion* A1 in Hellenistic times. It should also be noted that the increase in eating activities seems to find a similar rise in ritual equipment, especially lamps, which make up 85 per cent of the equipment. This observation implies that eating was performed at night,⁵³ or, alternatively, in a building with limited openings for daylight. If the increase in eating activities, as observed at Corinth and at Kommos, can be ascribed to the expansion of eating facilities such as the *hestiatoria*, it could be argued that a marked reduction of items connected with eating might be the result of a decline (abrupt or gradual) in such activities, as we find on the Acropolis at Athens. Let us have a closer look to see if these reduced activities can be connected with other developments visible in the cult practices in the celebrations of the patron deity of the city, Athena. I shall start by presenting some Attic vase paintings, two of which are well known, and a third forgotten vase with a new twist to its interpretation.

Pictorial vase paintings I—a ritual act

A fragmented dinos from the hands of Lydos, found on the Acropolis, contains a scene depicting a procession with three sacrificial animals: a ewe, a sow and a cow (also called a *trittys* sacrifice) (see Fig. 5.6). The same three animals appear in a procession on a large Little Master cup from the Greek shipowner, Stavros S. Niarchos'



Fig. 5.6. Acropolis 607. A fragment of an Attic black-figure dinos by Lydos showing a Panathenaic procession with animals for a *trittys* sacrifice, dated 560–550 BC.



Fig. 5.7. Stavros S. Niarchos collection. An Attic black-figure cup showing a Panathenaic procession with animals for a *trittys* sacrifice, dated 560–550 BC.

private collection (see Fig. 5.7). Both vases can be dated to 560–550 BC. On the Niarchos vase, the recipient of the procession was Athena, standing at the left end of the pictured frieze. In front of her a priestess receives the leader exchanging a kind of handshake with him ‘over’ the altar, on which is lit a fire. The leader, carrying an olive(?) twig in his other hand, is followed by a young *kane-phoros*. Behind him walk five men, all carrying twigs and leading the three sacrificial animals. Next in line come two double-flute players and a citharode, followed by four twig-carrying men, the *thallophoroi*. The last of these, placed together with three hoplites carrying frontal shields and spears, turns round to a young man on horseback, who completes the procession.⁵⁴ Both vases refer to the procession of the Panathenaic festival and to a little known aspect of the festival, the *trittys* sacrifice. On the Parthenon frieze, executed in the years 442–438 BC, and often taken as the most authoritative pictorial presentation of the Panathenaic procession, the sacrificial animals are cattle (on the southern frieze) and cattle and sheep (on the northern frieze).

A third vase, referred to by Graef and Langlotz as a 'grossen Skyphos', preserved in nineteen fragments—found on the Acropolis (as was the first vase above), and dated to about the same period as the other two—may confirm the combination of procession and a *trittys* sacrifice. The skyphos is composed of three superimposed friezes with various figural scenes; in addition separate motifs are added in the two handle zones (see Fig. 5.8):⁵⁵

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| A | Top frieze: chariots with charioteers in procession (frs. a–e), broken by the handle zones
Middle frieze: horses, birds, and walking men (carrying twigs?) (frs. a, d, g, n, o). |
| B | Top frieze: single(?) combat scenes placed between men(?) and women in procession (frs. f, l, m, q, non-lettered), broken by the handle zones.
Middle frieze: running, armed men and a rider; women in ring dance (frs. f, i, k, p, q, r, s). |
| Handle zone A/B | Two lions flanking a fallen bull (fr. h). |
| B/A | Two animals preserved of a <i>trittys</i> -scene (frs. i, k). |
| A+B bottom frieze | Lions and sphinxes all around the vase (frs. n, r). |

Let us start with the possible *trittys* scene in handle zone B/A. Only two animals are preserved: to the right the hind part of a large animal with hoofs and a long tail (a cow?), to the left the lowered head and two front legs of a smaller, also hooved animal, most likely a ewe; there is space to fill in a sow between them.

In handle zone A/B, two lions are placed heraldically on either side of a fallen bull. A similar motif (lions now attacking the bull) is depicted in the so-called Bluebeard pediment on the Acropolis,⁵⁶ and again in the important eastern pediment of the Late Archaic temple of Athena Polias.⁵⁷ As both handle zones carry emblematic scenes with reference to the Archaic cult of Athena on the Acropolis, there are reasons to believe that the other scenes on the vase also refer, directly or indirectly, to the same cult, i.e. to the Panathenaic festival.

The procession of chariots (with only a charioteer inside the chariot), in the top frieze on the front side (A), is a stock scene found in more figural contexts, as for example, on Geometric funerary vases (where they refer to funeral processions)⁵⁸ and on the François vase in Florence (referring to the procession of gods at the

(a)



Fig. 5.8. Acropolis 466. Fragments of an Attic black-figure skyphos showing elements of a Panathenaic procession including animals for a *trittys* sacrifice (frs. i, k), dated 560–550 BC.

(b)

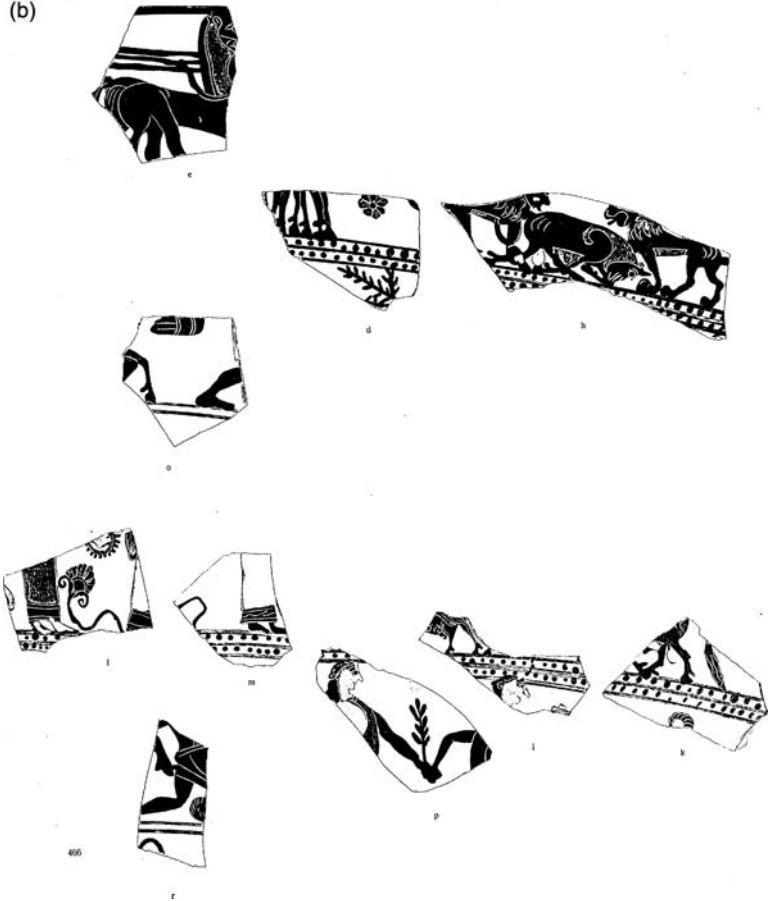


Fig. 5.8 (continued)

wedding of Peleus and Thetis), this last vase dated to a period close to that of our skyphos.⁵⁹ The scene was absent on the Niarchos cup, but appears on a relief, which has been interpreted as belonging to a frieze on the cella walls of the Late Archaic temple of Athena.⁶⁰ It would not be surprising to find chariots participating in the procession in an early phase of the festival, since it was originally an elite festival and chariots were a symbol of the elite. The procession, with walking men

(?) and women, continues on the back of the vase (B), interspersed with single combats. Could they refer to ritual games, as seen in the later *pyrrhic* dances,⁶¹ perhaps implicitly to one of the two myths central to the festival, namely the battle between the gods and the Giants?

In the middle frieze, the front appears to show a continuation of the procession with riders and men walking (carrying twigs?—see fr. d), while at the back running, armed men (but without helmets) and a rider can be seen, who also may have participated in ritual games at the festival. While the top frieze was broken by the handle zones, it continues under the *trittys* handle, and shows the procession turning into women performing a ring dance, holding each other's hands and a twig. This is a stock motif, often labelled *Frauenfeste*,⁶² referring to processions and festivals, as we can find them on older and contemporary Corinthian vases; it does not exclude, however, the possibility that women at an early stage actually participated in dancing, or in another festive manner, in the Panathenaic procession—as we also find them on the Parthenon frieze in the east, bridging the human world on the northern, western, and southern sides with that of the eponymous heroes and the Olympian gods.

I have on an earlier occasion suggested that the Panathenaic festival was a rite of passage for ephebes becoming men with all their rights and duties,⁶³ as was also the case with the Hallotia festival for Athena at Gortyna.⁶⁴ The presence of armed scenes in the procession may thus refer to the 'games' in which the young soldiers performed their skills in competitions to demonstrate that they were ready to receive arms and to protect society against enemies, one of the most important duties for a full citizen member. They may have been included here, not because they all were necessarily performed in the procession, but because they were part of the ritual acts of which the procession and the subsequent sacrifice was the culmination of the festival.

The composition of animals is different from later pictorial representations of sacrifices to Athena at Athens, in which each animal appears alone.⁶⁵ Since no later representations of three different sacrificial animals have been documented at Athens, it may well be that they refer to an early sacrificial practice in the celebration of the Panathenaic festival, perhaps changed from the simple *trittys* sacrifice to the more prestigious hecatomb cattle sacrifice during the last reign of Pisistratus.⁶⁶ To judge from the earliest vase showing only a cow as

the sacrificial animal, this may have happened as early as around 540 BC.⁶⁷ If this interpretation is right, could the change (which was a change of form) have led to other modifications as well, whether by 'decree' or not? To answer this we need to look a bit closer into what the Acropolis looked like in the sixth century BC.

The Acropolis in the sixth century BC—the architectural setting

From the beginning of the sixth century BC, the presence of architectural terracottas and small sculpted pediments refers to the introduction of a new kind of building activity on the Acropolis: the construction of small, but finely decorated buildings—often referred to as *oikemata*.⁶⁸ The oldest known building, from the second decade of the century,⁶⁹ was followed by a series of buildings in the subsequent forty years, to c.540 BC—with a minimum of nine erected.⁷⁰ Thereafter, the building activity slowed down, in the next sixty years adding a minimum of only four small edifices, and may have come to a halt in the early fifth century BC, with two more buildings perhaps dating after 480 BC.⁷¹ What functions did these buildings have? They could have been treasuries,⁷² but, as rightly observed by Hurwit, the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis was not a federal sanctuary, as were the ones at Delphi and Olympia.⁷³ Due to the rather sudden appearance of these new constructions, it may be possible that they were erected by the leading families of the town, such as the Alcmaeonidae, the Eteoboutadae, and the Philaidae. In the seventh and most of the sixth centuries BC, the Athena sanctuary remained under the control of the aristocratic families at Athens. In such a case, what use could the aristocratic families have made of these houses: were they small sacred family precincts, private treasuries, or houses used for eating, i.e. *hestiatoria*?⁷⁴

The size of these buildings cannot be established exactly (and it will differ according to the number of people they hosted). Heberdey recorded the width of the pediments I–IV⁷⁵ to lie between 5.40 m and 6.50 m, while Wiegand⁷⁶ calculated the external width of building B to be 9.68 m, and the internal width at 8.62 m. These measurements are a little higher than those of the *hestiatoria* at the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore at Corinth (3.60 m to less than 5.00 m) and at Cyrene (3.50–4.04 m), but not far from the measurement registered

in building A1 at Kommos (6.70 m).⁷⁷ To these calculations can be added the dining rooms in the stoa building at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (rooms c.7×7 m), and those in the small stoa at the Asklepieion in Athens (square rooms of 6.00–6.35 m wall length).⁷⁸

The introduction of a hecatomb sacrifice (under Pisistratus in the late 540s BC), in which large amounts of roasted meat (eaten without the use of specific tableware) were offered to the participants in the celebrations, lead to new ritual behaviour and ceremonies. In these, there was little space for old aristocratic eating traditions in separate buildings; they were apparently not forbidden, but gradually ousted from the ritual repertoire. The coincidence in the reduction of pottery used for eating and the gradual decline in constructing new *hestiatoria* during the subsequent two generations may not have been casual, but due to this new sacrificial ceremony. The new ceremony involved a change of form, in making the festival more glorious and increasing the hegemony of Athena as city goddess, but it did not result in a change of content. The introduction of new sacrificial customs, carried through by Pisistratus, may in addition have been a calculated political act to make Athena 'available' to larger groups of the people and thus to increase his popular support.

This case study demonstrates two ways in which a change in form can occur: either by a sudden political decision or by a gradual change of a traditional habit (whether the two were interconnected or not). After the Persian sack of the Acropolis in 480 BC, new *hestiatoria* were not built (with a possible exception of buildings D and E⁷⁹); they were not much needed anymore. When Mnesicles built the new Propylon for the Acropolis in the late 5th century BC, a room in the north-western part of the building was furnished with *klinai*.⁸⁰ If reserved for a ritual ceremony in connection with the Panathenaic festival it may have been that the old eating traditions were preserved in a 'fossilized' form for the priesthood or a selected group of designated members. In that case, we also have an example of how old traditions can be 'conserved', but within a new wrapping. The eating customs were preserved as a symbol of these old traditions within the festival, traditions which, as they progressed from the denotative to the connotative level, were in danger of losing their original meaning and falling into oblivion.

Faunal diachronics

In the discussion on the Panathenaic festival above, on the basis of pictorial and literary studies, it was suggested that in the third quarter of the sixth century BC, a major change occurred in the composition of the sacrificial animals. Unfortunately this change, which was a change of form, cannot be confirmed by faunal records. What the Persians did not destroy of faunal data in 480 BC, when they captured Athens and burnt down the Acropolis, or what later periods did not clear away, appears to have been neglected by the nineteenth-century excavators, at a time when animal bones were not considered of any archaeological importance.

Fortuitously, modern archaeological research shows greater concern about this material and its importance as a source of information for reconstructing ancient economic and social life and nutrition. Among the sanctuaries analysed here, the report on the Kommos excavations stands out as a good example of a thorough study (Table 5.3).⁸¹ From the detailed tables of information, I have tried to synthesize the data with regard to the distribution of animal bones over time. I have assumed that the bones found inside the sanctuary reflect first of all which animal species were sacrificed (many bones of which were burnt), but also other species included in the ritual meals. For period denominations, I have used those of the excavators: A–C, and an intermediate period (I).⁸²

The table demonstrates a fairly stable distribution over time for sheep/goats, but an increase in the number of pigs which causes a comparative reduction in cows/bulls.⁸³ The distribution reflects a *trittys* sacrifice, but since more deities were celebrated at the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, it is more likely that each deity had his/her

Table 5.3. Kommos. Minimum number of individuals (MNI) of *ovis/capra* (O/C), *bos* (B), and *sus* (S) through all periods (A–B, I, C), in percentages and in numbers (in parentheses).

	O/C	B	S	Tot.
Per. A	55 (16)	38 (11)	7 (2)	100 (29)
B	63 (126)	23 (46)	14 (28)	100 (200)
I	61 (11)	28 (5)	11 (2)	100 (18)
C	62 (104)	17 (28)	22 (37)	101 (169)
Total	62 (257)	22 (90)	17 (69)	101 (416)

specific sacrificial animal (or combinations of animals). The possible changes inherent in these numbers reflect again a gradual change in form, not in content. It is of some interest to see that the marked increase in the use of pigs coincides with the introduction of the *hestiatorion* building A1. However, since period C covers a large part of the period of Roman reign, we may ask ourselves if the increase in the use of pigs was due to changes in ritual traditions or 'culinary' taste.

Animals are also present in the shape of dedicatory terracotta figurines. It has been suggested that they refer to the sacrificial animals, serving as a substitute. As observed by M. C. Shaw, however, the votive offerings of animals may rather have 'served as a plea to the gods to guarantee the health of the beasts, rather than as a promise that entailed terminating their life. In an agrarian society, the well-being of livestock would be a foremost concern for the owners',⁸⁴ a logical twist to bear in mind.

THE RITUAL PROCESS III: THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

The individual level is perhaps the most complex one and difficult to come to grips with due to the great variety of artefacts dedicated to the deities. Baumbach's case study (2004) is an initial, honourable attempt to deal with some of this large and complicated material in detail, and the questions he posed are most valid: what artefacts can be considered as votive dedications (*anathema*), and what can they tell us about the cultic aspects of the deities venerated? I shall not go into a discussion here of Baumbach's methods and results,⁸⁵ but take a different approach within the questions of content and form.

In the previous section, an attempt was made to demonstrate relationships between ritual processes and pottery function. In the present section, I shall first investigate whether the celebrants, in the choice of vases, also considered the images on them. I shall then briefly discuss the changing themes in the repertoire of terracotta figurines at two of the sanctuaries under discussion, before putting forward a suggestion for how to interpret the Archaic statues of *korai* on the Acropolis at Athens. In the previous section, it was suggested that the social function of the festivals at Athens and Gortyna were related to passage rites for young boys. This shall be the leitmotif of the present, final section, but seen in a wider social context.

Pictorial vase paintings II—a matter of what is considered irrelevant

In the study of the pictorial scenes, we are confronted with an immediate methodological problem. Attic black- and red-figure vases are most often equipped by more than one pictorial scene; in addition, the material under treatment is preserved only as fragments. The first case study considers Attic black-figure vases from the sanctuaries of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens, of Demeter and Kore at Cyrene, and of Hera at Samos. In their respective publications, I shall consider each catalogued entry as representing an individual vase.⁸⁶ For the statistics, however, the pictorial scenes are counted, not the vases, which means that one vase can be represented by more than one pictorial motif. The fragmentary preservation of the vases makes an interpretation of a pictorial motif in many cases difficult; for that reason, in the present case, the motifs are distributed among seven general thematic groups, as listed below:⁸⁷

1. Animals, birds, sirens, and sphinxes—normally present on larger vases in separate bands of figures in the lower part of the vase, a reminiscence of Corinthian themes on early Attic vases.
2. Gods and mythological scenes, including Gorgoneia and eyes (single presentations of Athena excluded).
3. Athena alone.
4. Heroes (mainly Heracles—see below).
5. Scenes with warriors, horsemen, chariots, horses and hunting.
6. Dionysiac/komast scenes.
7. Daily life scenes, including men and women unable to allocate in other scenes.

Table 5.4 lists the number of scenes (in parentheses) within each thematic group at each of the three selected sanctuaries, as well as their corresponding percentage distributions.⁸⁸

The high presence of group 1 at Samos may partly be explained by the generally older date of the Samian material than that from the other two sanctuaries,⁸⁹ thus still using themes of a more Archaic date. Group 7 is a group of loose ends and will not be commented on further. Many scenes entered here may originally have belonged to another group of motifs.⁹⁰ However, it is interesting to note the high and fairly consistent distribution of group 5 (warriors, horsemen, chariots, horses and hunting)—this may be a theme, which was

Table 5.4. Pictorial scenes on Attic black-figure vases distributed by numbers (in parentheses) and percentages among the sanctuaries at Athens, Cyrene, and Samos.

Sanctuaries / Pictorial themes	Athens (Athena)	Cyrene (D&K)	Samos (Hera)
1. Animals	15 (268)	25 (62)	43 (136)
2. Gods and myths	11 (191)	11 (28)	7 (23)
3. Athena alone	6 (104)	1 (3)	1 (2)
4. Heroes (esp. Heracles)	6 (107)	9 (23)	3 (10)
5. Warriors, horsemen	23 (420)	25 (60)	20 (63)
6. Dionysiac/komast scenes	11 (207)	10 (24)	11 (34)
7. Daily life	29 (521)	18 (44)	15 (46)
Total	101 (1818)	99 (244)	100 (314)

good for ‘all seasons’, i.e. whatever the cultic aspect of the celebrated deity, whether as protector of child-bearing and child-raising, fertility, or the city, they all had one and the same aim: to secure recruitment for the protection of society.⁹¹

The last three groups, 2–4, can be considered together. The presence of Athena at Athens is obvious, but it is interesting to see the rejection of her at Cyrene and Samos, without Demeter/Kore and Hera compensating for her in the pictorial vases in their respective sanctuaries.⁹² All sanctuaries have mythological themes, but while at Cyrene and Samos, Gorgoneia and eyes figure prevalently, at Athens the ‘national’ myth, the Gigantomachy, and scenes from the Trojan Wars make up 80 per cent of all registered myths, both of relevance for Athena and Athens.⁹³ Heracles as Athena’s protégé has a natural place on the Acropolis, while his notable presence at Cyrene may be due to a connection between Demeter and Kore and hero cults, as also suggested for the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth.⁹⁴ It therefore appears that in the selection of vases for ritual or votive purposes the celebrants paid some thought to the choice of pictorial themes; in many, but not all cases, a relation between motif and deity celebrated can be observed—or it was considered fairly important not to select an irrelevant theme.

In this respect it may be interesting to look at group 4 (heroes) which for Athens includes both Heracles and Theseus. Theseus appeared in Attic vase painting already by 580–570 BC, but it was not till the late sixth century BC that his popularity took off among the vasepainters;⁹⁵ he soon challenged Heracles as the most popular hero at Athens. Heracles’ reduced hegemony can well be demonstrated by

comparing the appearance of the two heroes in respectively ABV and ARV (excluding the vases from the Acropolis): among the black-figure vases Heracles gets a crushing 91 per cent score in relation to Theseus' 9 per cent; however, among the red-figure vases the score is a meagre 53 per cent in Heracles' favour. However, the Acropolis still remained his domain (his connection with Athena was too strong to oust him from there, and his role in the battle against the Giants was irrevocable). Theseus, as a newcomer, without Athena's special protection, found it hard to enter the goddess' sanctuary: among the black-figure vases registered on the Acropolis, as outside the sanctuary, Heracles is well represented by 90 per cent versus 10 per cent for Theseus; among the red-figure vases his dominance is only reduced to 77 per cent (see Table 5.5). Accordingly, for many celebrants, Theseus, as a hero in relation to Heracles, was not considered relevant on the Acropolis. Among the Athenian citizens, Theseus could be promoted as the founder and the new hero of the town, but on the Acropolis Heracles remained an essential component of the celebrative content.

Table 5.5. Pictorial scenes on Attic black- and red-figure vases showing the heroes Heracles and Theseus. Numerical (in parentheses) and percentage distribution among all vases registered in ABV and ARV and those registered on the Acropolis (AkrBV/AkrRV) in Graef and Langlotz (1909–33).

Publications/Heroes	ABV	ARV	AkrBV	AkrRV
Heracles	91 (1084)	53 (439)	90 (86)	77 (36)
Theseus	9 (112)	47 (392)	10 (10)	23 (11)
Total	100 (1196)	100 (831)	100 (96)	100 (47)

Terracotta figurines—a change of motifs

It is to be expected that terracotta figurines also had a relevance to the cultic aspects of the deity celebrated. Normally, the repertoire of dedicatory votives was extensive, but with a concentration on certain stock motives, most likely mass produced and sold (perhaps under some control by cult officials) in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary.⁹⁶ In sanctuaries, with a long dedicatory history, one or more stock motives of the figurines can suddenly change, as observed at the

Athena sanctuary at Gortyna and at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth.

At the temple and associated sanctuary altar on top of the acropolis at Gortyna are found two sets of stock motives among the dedicated figurines. In the sanctuary's earliest period (eight–seventh centuries BC) the goddess of the sanctuary is shown: a) standing or seated, both dressed or nude, with a *polos* on her head;⁹⁷ sometimes she is shown doubled (in one case, on a temple orthostat block, naked with a man (see Fig. 5.9)⁹⁸) and once tripled;⁹⁹ b) as a *potnia hippon*, flanked by heraldically placed horses (see Fig. 5.10);¹⁰⁰ c) warlike, armed with a

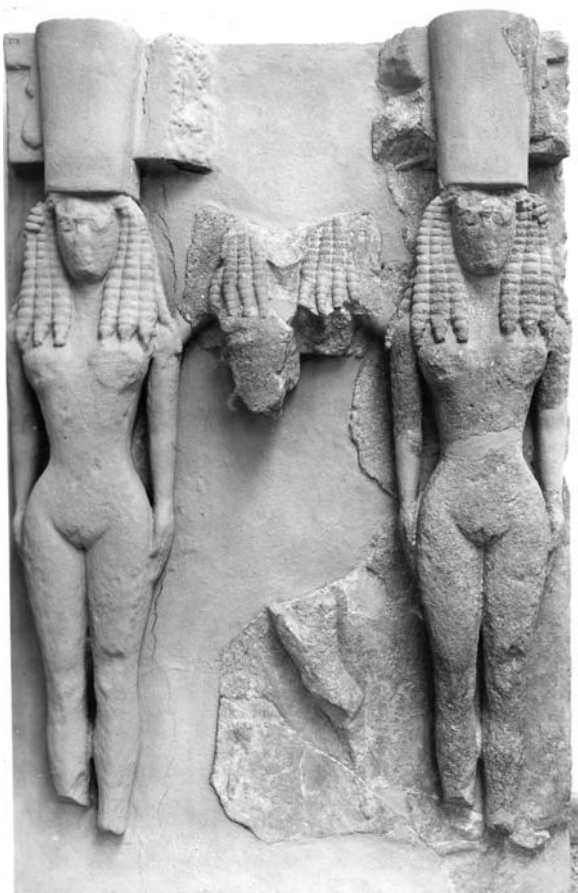


Fig. 5.9. Gortyna, temple on the acropolis. Orthostate blocks with two naked women with *polos* hats, flanking a male who is moving towards the left.

raised spear (see Fig. 5.11),¹⁰¹ or with a round shield covering her body.¹⁰² In a later period, from the fourth century BC, the dominant figurine shows Athena garbed in a long dress equipped with helmet and aegis, shield, or spear (or neither of them), and a *phiale* (see Fig. 5.12).¹⁰³ The contrasting references to aspects of fertility (the nakedness) and war seen in the early votive offerings have been the subject of much comment. The appearance of these contrasting aspects has been explained as the result of an evolution in the deity, either as one aspect of the goddess that was gradually assumed by another, or as the worship of one goddess that gave way to the



Fig. 5.10. Gortyna. Fragment of a terracotta plaque showing a *potnia hippon* (only an arm is preserved) holding a heraldically placed horse.



Fig. 5.11. Gortyna. Terracotta figurine of a warlike goddess with a raised spear.

worship of another.¹⁰⁴ In a recent article, I have argued that these two aspects both refer to Athena, as we can find her presented among the fourth century BC dedications,¹⁰⁵ and that she, with the epithet *Hel-lotis*, in these guises was celebrated first as the patroness of *the male*.¹⁰⁶ This was a denotative symbol which amalgamated well with her role as the protector of the town at the festival called *Hellotia*. The most important male role was that of defending the society, an obligation imposed when young males reached an age at which they were considered physically and socially mature. At this time they went through a rite of passage and received the right to carry armour and weapons, the symbols of their new status.¹⁰⁷ The



Fig. 5.12. Gortyna. Terracotta figurine of Athena with a *phiale* in her right hand.

large number of small, modest ceramic votive shields¹⁰⁸ (see Fig. 5.13) and miniature bronzes of shields, cuirasses and helmets among the votives at Gortyna¹⁰⁹ strengthens the view of the goddess' role as protector of *the male* and, by implication, the town. The figurines of the eighth-century BC goddess and the fourth-century BC Athena may thus be aspects of the same goddess, Athena, in whose festival, the Hellotia, an important part of the celebrations constituted passage rites for the ephebes, a ceremony in which community life and town order was renewed.¹¹⁰ Thus, the change of stock motifs may not have been the result of content change, rather a change of form.

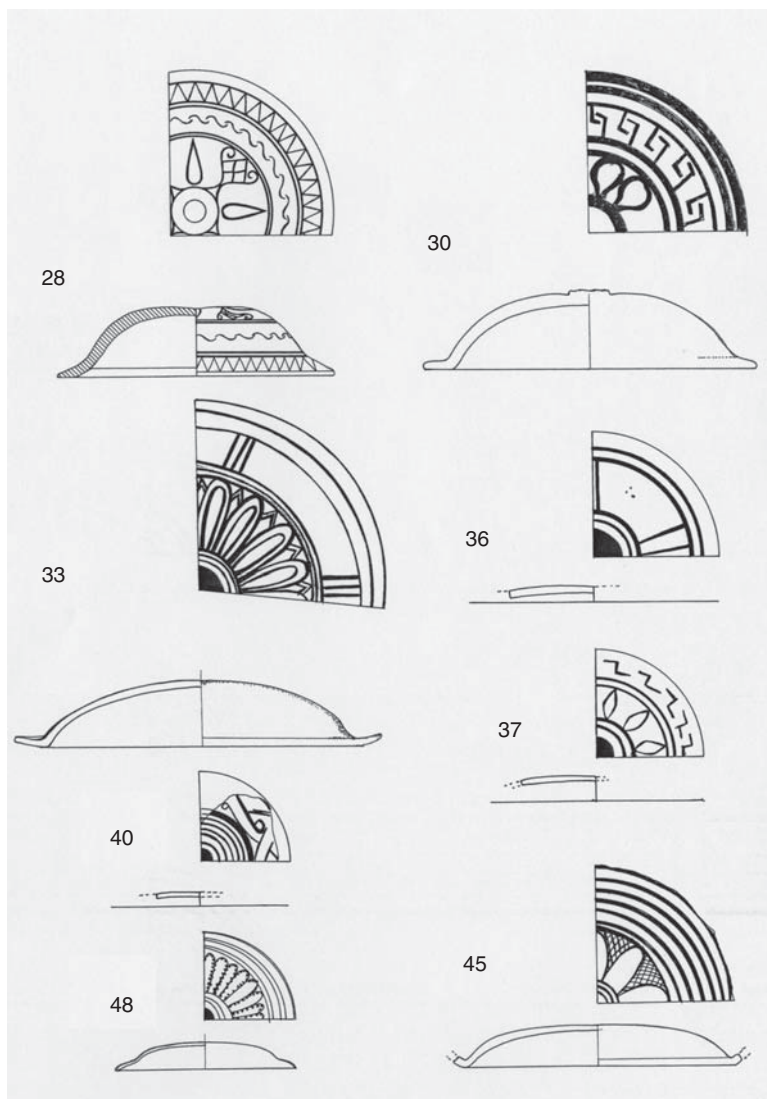


Fig. 5.13. Gortyna. Terracotta shields: a small selection of types.

At the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, a similar drastic change occurred in the stock themes of the figurines.¹¹¹ In the sanctuary's earliest phase, the late seventh to the sixth centuries BC, the dedicatory terracotta figurines were dominated by horsemen (c.60). In the early fifth century BC, they disappear and give way to various types of female figurines in the shape of standing '*korai*' (c.230), seated goddesses (c.90), and 'dolls' (c.60), to mention only the most dominant types; in the Classical and Late Classical period 'dolls', both nude and draped, abound (c.930), when also figurines of banqueters (c.55) and children (seated: c.45) were introduced.

At Corinth, horsemen were frequently dedicated in small hero shrines and may thus, together with later figurines of banqueters ('who either embodied the chthonic power or could act as an intermediary for the worshipper'), refer to a hero worship next to or in association with Demeter and Kore.¹¹² However, as observed above (pp. 169–70), horsemen, warriors and chariots are frequent motifs among the dedications in many kinds of sanctuaries, whether the deities are mainly related to fertility, bearing and raising children, or town protection. They are all aspects of the same central community concern: the recruitment of young men for societal protection and young women for continued procreation. Hero worship and fertility cults may therefore be two aspects of the same religious ideas and considerations, which concern the social function—or the content—of the veneration. Hence, the change of stock motifs in Late Archaic/Early Classical figurines may not be the result of content changes in the celebrations of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, rather a change in form—perhaps, as suggested, in connection with an expansion of the cult to comprise larger groups of the community.¹¹³

Societal protection and the Acropolis *korai*—an observation

Ancient veneration was apparently much oriented towards the protection of society, which was not defined as a simple man-warrior-protector constellation, but as a complex interaction of more social activities and processes, in which both *the male*¹¹⁴ and *the female* were interdependent elements. The man was essential in his role as defender and protector of the society, the woman in her role as procreator of new males for the protection of society, as well as of

new females for the procreation of new males and females. This was an eternal circular concern in ancient society—and in many aspects it remains a central political concern even today. Seen in this aspect, the flourishing of *kore*-statues as votive gifts in Archaic times, and especially on the Acropolis at Athens, should not be interpreted as deities, temple servants (as, for example *arrephoroi* at Athens), or the like,¹¹⁵ but perhaps rather as symbols of *the female*. This underlines the essential procreative role of women in the protection of the society—and most pertinent in a sanctuary in which Athena with the epithet Polias (the city goddess) was celebrated; it was also at her main festival, the Panathenaia, that young boys were raised to the status of full and worthy citizens with all the accompanying duties and responsibilities necessary for protecting and governing the polis.

Thus, ancient festivals appear to be a public concern through which a constant dialogue with the deities was maintained to secure (in a broad sense) the protection, preservation, and growth of the society. In this, the content of the festival was basic, and rarely changed, though we can not exclude the possibility that some festivals expanded to incorporate more social functions. The form, however, could easily be changed, adjusting to the needs and wishes of the ruler(s), the official organizers, and/or the participants of the festival.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In attempts to analyse ancient festivals and venerations through the material culture, a distinction between the concept's content and form seems important. Content relates to the social function of the festival, form to the way in which this function was expressed in the celebrations. This distinction may be useful not only for the study of the material culture of festivals, but also in other contexts where semiotic and functional studies are involved.

The present case studies may have given a taste of the range and the potential inherent in the study of material culture within a defined social and ritual framework, but there is still a long way to go to understand in all its details the full meaning of the material culture of the past. Baumbach's attempt (2004) was courageous, but demonstrated more possibilities of interpretation than providing fully convincing answers. The fault is not his: he was hampered, as I was in this

study, by incomplete publications of the excavated material. To approach the questions he and I have asked requires better publication standards with regard to both terminology, presentation of quantities and contextual emphasis; one must also bear in mind that in material culture studies all excavated finds are important, independently of production material and quality or of the artefacts' role as chronological markers. The improvement of publication standards will put more pressure on publication times and costs, but the more complete our studies are, the greater the potential exists for increasing our knowledge of past societies.

And last, but not least, computer technology has given us tools that make it easier to treat large quantities of data, but at the same time this has opened up new challenges in finding a sensible balance between the selection of data parameters and what an analysis of these parameters can tell. The more detailed a study becomes, the more difficult its interpretation.¹¹⁶

APPENDIX

This section contains information on the material *not* used for the calculations presented in Tables 5.1 (all sanctuaries) and 5.4 (the sanctuaries at Athens, Cyrene, and Samos only) respectively. The sanctuaries are entered alphabetically according to place.

Athens (sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Acropolis): The Athenian material is difficult. For the calculations, Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, vols. i and ii, have been used. The majority of the vases are from the late Archaic period (vol. ii, p. vii). Note, however, that after having described some 600 cups (*Schalen*), the following comment is made: 'Es sind von Schalen etwa zweitausend Fragmente mit ganz unbedeutenden Resten von Darstellungen fortgelegt. Davon fallen etwa fünfzehnhundert auf die ganz späten flüchtigen Schalen' (vol. i, p. 203).

Tables 5.1–2: The following vases have not been used for the calculations: Vol. i, cat. nos. 1–240, 276–88, 291, 294, 346, 353, 355, 358, 378, 393, 399–402, 405–6, 408–9, 414, 424–35, 437–40, 442–5, 447–9, 458–9, 462, 464, 469, 471, 475–94, 504–13, 535–40, 560–1, 569–70, 573–8, 584–5, 588, 592, 595, 600, 605, 912–1138, 2073–2132, 2182–2208, 2210–2361, 2467–92, 2593–2644, 2652–2762. Vol. ii, cat. nos. 558–600, 833–1051, 1081, 1084–6, 1088, 1090, 1092–3, 1098–1100, 1102–3, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1111–1252, 1254, 1256–64, 1267, 1276–8, 1282, 1284, 1287, 1293, 1295–301, 1308–9, 1311, 1314–29,

1331–8, 1340–1, 1343–51, 1355–66, 1368–416, 1418–29, 1447, 1451, 1475–8, 1481–90, 1492–3, 1495–6, 1500, 1502, 1510, 1524, 1529, 1534, 1537, 1541–2, 1547–51.

Table 5.4: The following black-figure vases and objects from vol. i have not been used for the calculations: cat. nos. 1–465, 467–71, 505, 516–17, 560, 571–2, 595, 598, 694, 706–9, 741, 810, 834, 837, 910–1138, 1183–4, 1187, 1194, 1234, 1252–3, 1309, 1323, 1328, 1359, 1363, 1365–6, 1368, 1401, 1408–15, 1418, 1444, 1460, 1476, 1478, 1495, 1502, 1529, 1600, 1605, 1607–8, 1742–56, 1790–1841, 1861–2, 1864, 1873–6, 1889–92, 1921, 1923–34, 2068, 2075–6, 2095–6, 2099–2101, 2104, 2127, 2159, 2172, 2182, 2187a, 2194, 2210, 2270, 2279, 2284–8, 2329, 2352–9, 2361, 2363–80, 2394–7, 2407–9, 2485, 2550, 2571, 2612–23, 2625, 2630–5, 2645–6, 2648–54, 2656–66, 2668–76, 2678, 2681–90, 2694–2762.

Corinth (Demeter and Kore sanctuary): The distribution of the material is based on shape studies presented by Pemberton (1989), 9–78. Pottery dated after 146 BC is not considered. Likewise, the following shapes are not considered:

Tables 5.1–2: I Panathenaic amphorae, III Hydriskoi, VII Kalathiskoi, XIX Lekythoi, XX Aryballoi-Alabastra, XXI Askos, unguentaria, XXII Pyxides, lids, XXIV Miscellanea.

Cyrene (Demeter and Kore sanctuary): The following cat. nos. are not included in the calculations:

Tables 5.1–2: Schaus 1985 (vol. ii): 20–40, 42–3, 54–7, 71–84, 258–61, 265–6, 286–93, 296, 298, 310, 312–3, 437–43, 445–66, 470–2, 527–37. Moore 1987 (vol. iii.2): 66–78, 88, 139–48, 150–1, 158–68, 251–86, 310. Kenrick 1987 (vol. iii.3): 38, 47–9. Phee 1997 (vol. VI.2): 81–2, 113–36. Kocybala (1999) (vol. vii): 1–109, 207–10, 252–79, 293–394.

Table 5.4: 3–5, 25, 37, 41, 47–8, 59, 66–78, 88, 97–8, 112, 118–9, 132–3, 137–8, 144, 147–8, 150–1, 159, 165–8, 183, 185, 198, 228, 253–4, 285–310.

Emporio Chios (sanctuary of Athena): See Emporio (sanctuary of unnamed deity) below.

Emporio (sanctuary of unnamed deity): The following cat. nos. in Boardman 1967 are not included in the numbers given for the two sanctuaries at Emporio, Chios (Boardman 1967): the one for the Athena and the one at the harbour (unknown deities):

Table 5.1: 10, 22, 132–3, 139, 256, 342–5, 481–4, 498–9, 507, 510, 517–8, 520, 591, 597–8, 604, 606–7, 615–7, 619, 630–1, 633, 640, 649, 653–4, 656–77, 681–6, 687–723, 728–30, 736–7, 741–2, 747, 751, 753–67, 769, 778, 781–3, 792–3, 797, 801–4, 806–7, 810–3, 816–8, 821–46, 848–52, 855, 859, 862–4, 866, 869–939, 941–59.

Gortyna (sanctuary of Athena): In Johannowsky (2002) the following cat. nos. are not included in the calculations:

Tables 5.1–2: 1–53, 292A–301c–305e, 374–7b, 401a–32a, 438–502, 507a–30, 602A–3A, 604, 622, 624–5.

Kommos (sanctuary of Zeus and Athena): In Callaghan and Johnston (2000) the following cat. nos. have not been considered for the calculations:

Tables 5.1–2: 15, 100, 109–110, 157, 176, 187, 197, 200, 219, 224–5, 227, 230–1, 235, 245–6, 249, 268, 271, 290–4, 302–5, 374–6, 390–1, 407–8, 449, 496, 564–6, 610, 679–82, 782–5, 806–10, 815–8, 820–1, 824–6, 832–5.

Perachora (sanctuary of Hera Acraea): The following cat. nos. in Dunbabin (1962) are not included in the calculations:

Tables 5.1–2: cat. nos. 1–115, 940–1274, 1294–7, 1302–4, 1312–1745, 1756–1939, 2216–9, 2223–4, 2267–80, 2580–3, 2706–69, 2773–5, 2781–8, 2797–8, 2805–6, 2809–3296B, 3345–9, 3435–8, 3444–3500, 3668–79, 3778–3816, 3824–30, 3845–7, 3849, 3857, 3862, 3868, 3881–4, 4008, 4011, 4013–14, 4016–20, 4024, 4029, 4031, 4035, 4040–6, 4051–4, 4057–9, 4062–3, 4104–12, 4128, 4131, 4132–4A, 4138, 4141, 4143–4200, 4231–5, 4254.

Samos (sanctuary of Hera): The following cat. nos. in Kreuzer (1998) are not considered for the calculations:

Table 5.1: cat. nos. 95–124, 409–11, 413–31. App. cat. nos. 2–5.

Table 5.4: cat. nos. 20, 37.

Tegea: The following cat. nos. in Voyatzis (1990) are not included in the calculations:

Table 5.1: cat. nos. P1–P2, P14, P17a–b, P20, P36–P38, P53, P67–P68, P81–P83, P91–P93, P96.

NOTES

1. In fact, after some serious investigation I am still at a loss for a proper explanation. The tradition goes back at least to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, if not further beyond. It may not have started from a distinct historical happening, but its symbolic meaning was later strengthened by changing historical situations of national importance.
2. Brandt (2006), 44–5. Instead of ‘form’ the word ‘behaviour’ may be used.
3. On materiality, see, e.g. Glørstad and Hedeager 2009.
4. See e.g. Boardman (1972); Oakley (2001); Shapiro (2001)—but many more could be added.

5. Votive offerings/dedications can be defined as encoded symbols of the guise under which worshippers addressed their deities. The votives may refer to the image(s) of the venerated deities and/or to their religious/social function. Without any other sources, the only way to understand the character of the deity worshipped is by studying these symbolic objects (Brandt 2006, 44).
6. For a discussion of this difficult problem, see e.g. van Straten (1981; 1992); Merker (2000), 321–41; Baumbach (2004), 1–5, and the literature there cited; add Boardman et al. (2004), and Hölscher and Krauskopf (2005). Cf. also Whitley (2001), 141–2, who, in a discussion of votive objects, excludes equipment, such as libation vessels, reserved for use in the cult, and distinguishes the following categories for the rest of the material found in the sanctuaries: (1) ‘Dedications of personal objects’; (2) ‘Purpose-made votives’; and (3) ‘Objects which, in other circumstances would have been considered appropriate as gifts within the eastern Mediterranean sphere of aristocratic gift exchange’.—To these should also be added the observations of Renfrew (1985), 11–26. For views on Greek personal religion, see esp. Festugière (1954) and Instone (2009) (esp. text 11).
7. Bonghi Jovino (2005). See her article for examples. For foundation deposits add Bammer 1988 (Artemision at Ephesos), and of celebration add Callaghan et al. (2000), 211 (Kommos); Ruscillo (1997), 362 (Mytilene, Lesbos); Kron (1992), 643–8 (may also be considered as type 1, since the deposit lies inside a ruined building which was rebuilt).
8. Among the selected sanctuaries chosen for the present investigation, the archaeological material found at the altar at Gortyna and that in the foundation fills for the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens may perhaps be characterized as deposits of obliteration.
9. Brandt (1996), 318; Baumbach (2004), 10.
10. In Brandt (1996), esp. 177–292, I made a modest attempt to overcome this problem.
11. Here I fully agree with the laments of Baumbach (2004), 10.
12. Only the painted pottery will be considered, as published by Graef and Langlotz (1909–33). The majority of the material belongs to the late sixth and the early fifth century BC. It is to be expected that non-painted pottery was also found, but this, in this case, has never been published, let alone mentioned. This probable absence may create some biases in the data presented. See also the laments of Rotroff and Oakley (1992), 137, for material at the Agora, Athens, thrown away without documentation, in which amphorae, household items and cooking wares suffered most.
13. Pemberton (1989); Bookidis and Stroud (1997); Bookidis et al. (1999); Merker (2000); Bookidis (2003); for a discussion of a possible Iron Age beginning of the cult in the area, see Pfaff (1999), esp. 119–20. Despite

extensive and detailed publications for the large quantities of both pottery and terracottas, precise numbers of finds and types are lacking. For a synopsis of the site and its cult-life, see Pedley (2006), 84–6. For a general discussion on the position of the sanctuaries for Demeter, see Guettel Cole (2004).

14. White (1984–99) (see the contributions by White 1984, Schaus 1985, Moore 1987, Kenrick 1987, Crabtree and Monge 1990, White 1993, McPhee 1997, Kocybala 1999). One would also expect that local pottery was found, but in this case this has not been published.
15. Boardman 1967 (xi: the temple cult lasted into the Hellenistic period, but only for the early period do we have reliable quantities of published material). For much of the pottery, precise quantities are lacking at both this and the harbour sanctuary (see n. 16, below).
16. In Boardman et al. (2004), 318, Apollo/Artemis are suggested as the venerated deities. On the same page it was observed that at the Athena sanctuary the pottery was mostly local, while by the sanctuary at the harbour imported vases dominated. The difference presumably had little to do with the distance from the sea (whether local or imported, the vases had to be brought to the top of the hill), but rather with an aspect of veneration. Could it be that the veneration of Athena was reserved for full citizens, while the deity celebrated by the harbour was open also to foreigners?
17. Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari (1968); Johannowsky (2002).
18. Shaw and Shaw (2000).
19. Payne (1940); Dunbabin (1962); see also Tomlinson (1992). The sanctuary was dedicated to Hera Acraea (Hera Limneia is an invention) and was moved from the harbour area up on the hill to the east, closer to the 'sacred pool', which presumably from the beginning had an important place in the cult. The pool was filled with water from a nearby hypothetical spring and it contained around 200 bronze *phialai mesomphaloi*, of a seventh to sixth-century BC date.
20. In the present article only the Attic black-figure pottery shall be considered, see Kreuzer (1998) (the Panathenaic amphorae are not included). The Hera sanctuary at Samos suffered badly during the last World War, when much of the excavated and unpublished material was destroyed (Baumbach 2004, 147–8). Much material has been published in a separate publication series on the excavations at Samos, in at least 26 volumes, while some has appeared in other publications.
21. Voyatzis (1990), 282–300, cat. nos. P1–P96, all proto Geometric, Geometric, and Orientalizing shards. The material is limited and of reduced value. The material from the Norwegian excavations undertaken in the 1990s is being prepared for publication.

22. Renfrew (1985), 21–2, instead makes a distinction between communal and domestic, looking more to the physical aspects of cult and cult-places.
23. The names entered are those found scattered through the excavation publications.
24. Boardman (1967), 132: ‘openwork ritual vases’.
25. For a discussion of this water basin, see e.g. Guettel Cole (2004), 43–7.
26. Among these are miniature pottery, such as *amphoriskoi*, *kalathiskoi*, and *krateriskoi* (on miniature pottery, see, e.g., Edlund 2001), and ordinary pottery, such as alabastra, *aryballoi*, *askoi*, and *lekythoi* containing perfumes and oil for personal use, Panathenaic amphorae, *pyxides*, *epinetra*, *pinakes*, wheels, shields, loom weights, spindle whorls, bobbins, tripods, and the like. Baumbach (2004), in his otherwise detailed publication, did not make this distinction, though see his discussion on pp. 1–5. Also lids are excluded from the numbers.
27. For the figures used in the table, see the Appendix. To simplify, all percentages are rounded off to the nearest whole number. For that reason, the total will sometimes be 99% or 101%. This has no consequence for the interpretation of the data.
28. Note that for Samos only Attic black-figure vases are used; the figures should therefore be interpreted with caution.
29. The *kernos* was not a characteristic cult object, though, neither at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth nor at the one at Cyrene.
30. Rubensohn (1898); Bakalakis (1991); see also Pollitt (1979); Miles (1998).
31. Johannowsky (2002), 22–42, cat. nos. 154–288 (some cat. nos. have an added minusc. a, b, c, etc. to an already existing no.). These are all new vases, not fragments of one vase.
32. On the *kernoi* in general, see e.g. Boardman et al. (2004), 306, and Hölscher and Krauskopf (2005), 250–2 (A. Bignasca).
33. Brandt (2006).
34. Willets (1960), 13; cf. Plin. *HN* 23.161.
35. At Corinth, the buildings with dining rooms amount to 36, containing c.100 rooms, of which c.44 appear to be dining rooms (numbers taken from counts of tables in Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 413–15). The average size of the dining rooms range ‘from 3.60 to 4.60 m per side, a few rooms exceed 5.00 m in at least one dimension, while only one, N:21, exceeds 6.00 m in length’. The approximate area of a room is 17–20/22 sq.m., and the largest room can be found in the late fifth century BC building K-L:25–26, being c.29.26 sq.m. (Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 392). At Cyrene, there were three buildings (S1, S5, S6), with internal measurements in the range of 3.50/4.04 × 5.40/5.80 m (White 1993, 83–96). Bergquist (1990), 37, has calculated that buildings with an internal wall

length of c.4.5 m and a room diagonal of c.6.4 m (area c.20 m²) can accommodate seven couches, while buildings with an internal wall length of c.6.5 m and a room diagonal of c.9.2 m (area ca. 42 m²) can fit eleven couches. According to this observation, the buildings at Corinth and Cyrene could not have taken many reclining people, but four times as many if they were sitting (for this possibility, see J. C. Shaw 2000b, 680).

36. J. C. Shaw (2000a), 35–6 (temple C), 63–5 (Room A1), 65–8 (Building B).
37. J. C. Shaw (2000b), 680 (if they were seated the room may have been able to receive four times more, or 56 persons); see also the discussion on benches and benched buildings on pp. 679–82. Note that also temple C had benches where 10 or 40 people could respectively lie or sit.
38. Rouse (1902); Jarmann (1973); Kadletz (1976); Bevan (1986); Reese (1989); Reese and Ruscillo (2000). For an interesting view on leg joints from the sacrifices used as gifts, see Tsoukala 2009.
39. Bookidis et al. (1999), 32–45; see also Bevan (1986), 320 (who notes that pigs were sacrificed also to Poseidon, Artemis, and Apollo).
40. Bookidis et al. (1999), 43, table 7, summarizes species and number of specimens at Corinth: fish 49, sea urchins 8, reptiles 2, rodents/insectivores 6, pigs 86, sheep/goats 11. Excluding seafood, the distribution gives 82 per cent pigs, 10 per cent sheep/goat, 6 per cent rodents/insectivores, 2 per cent reptiles; including the seafood, the figures change to 53 per cent pigs, 30 per cent fish, 7 per cent sheep/goats, 5 per cent sea urchins, 4 per cent rodents/insectivores, and 1 per cent reptiles. Jarmann (1973), at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Knossos, registered more than 90 per cent pigs.
41. Crabtree and Monge (1990), 113–17. Note that for the percentages from Cyrene, I have rounded off the decimals to the nearest lower/higher figure. Whether calculating with decimals or not, the total arrives at 104 per cent.
42. Ruscillo (1996), 362; cf. also Reese (1989), 68.
43. See L. Hansen in Bookidis et al. (1999), 19–32; cf. also Bookidis (2003), 255.
44. Bookidis (2003), 255.
45. Kron (1988), 138–41.
46. English names for this shrub include chaste tree and monk's pepper, because its seeds were considered to reduce the sexual appetite.
47. See e.g. Brandt (2006), 45, 47.
48. Celery, which grows in the summer, contains high quantities of natural sodium chloride, and is important for maintaining an equilibrium of salt in the body, especially in the hot summer months.
49. The Acropolis material is problematic, partly because the dating of the material is very generic, and partly because only some of the material is

published with illustrations. The reason for a phase division in the third quarter of the sixth century BC will be explained below. To the first phase belongs all the relevant material which precedes the Attic black-figure vases (i.e. proto-Geometric, Geometric, early Attic, non-Attic, proto-Corinthian, and Corinthian pottery). Of the black-figure vases, all early black-figure vases and the 'François vase group' have been included in the first phase. For the rest of the black-figure vases (from cat. no. 679 onwards), of which the majority belong to the Late Archaic period (Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, vol. ii, p. vii), I have split the vases arbitrarily, allocating a quarter of the vases to the first phase and the remaining three quarters of the vases to the second phase. The second phase includes the remaining three quarters of all the black-figure vases entered in Graef and Langlotz (1909–33), vol. I, from cat. no. 679 onwards. In addition, all red-figure vases are allocated to this phase. The arbitrary division of the black-figure vases may be considered not exact enough, but it is important to remember that the calculations are made to discover tendencies over time, not exact proportions.

50. See p. 147, above.
51. Johannowsky (2002), 106 (cat. nos. 626–37). I have in this context counted the *hydriai* 631a–h and 632a–e as 13 separate vases, and not as 2. However, it is not certain that each fragment belongs to an individual vase. If we apply the last number, the percentage distribution of the three vase categories for Gortyna period II becomes I: 50 per cent; II: 7 per cent; III: 43 per cent.
52. Bookidis and Stroud (1997), 50. The situation at Cyrene is abnormal, perhaps partly due to the small quantities of excavated material. Though, see also n. 14.
53. For the connection of lamps and nightly celebrations, see e.g. Blinkenberg (1931), cols. 31–4; Boardman (1967), 29; Kron (1992), 630.
54. For a discussion of the two vases, see Brandt (2001).
55. Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, i, 50, no. 466, pl. 22. On fr. f the authors see Heracles fighting the Amazons, an interpretation not considered by von Bothmer (1957).
56. See lately Hurwit (1999), 108–9, and figs. 80, 86a (c.560 BC).
57. Schrader (1939), 377–87, nos. 471–3, figs. 469–96; Hurwit (1999), 123.
58. Cf e.g. Coldstream (1968), pls. 7a, 8b, 11a–b, c, g, 12b (Attic LGI–II).
59. ABV 76.1; Beazley, *Para.* 29; Beazley *Addenda* 7 (early second quarter of the sixth century BC). On the vase and its interpretation, see lately Torelli (2007).
60. Schrader (1939), 387–9, no. 474, pl. 198; Hurwit (1999), 123, fig. 95.
61. Vian (1952), 249–50; Poursat (1969); Borthwick (1969; 1970); Pinney (1988); Delavaud-Roux (1993); Ceccarelli (1998).
62. On the *Frauenfeste* motif, see e.g. Jucker (1963); Callipolitis-Feytman (1970); Amyx (1988) i.228–30, ii.653–7; see also Coldstream (1968), pls. 11d (Attic LG), 30a–b (Argive LGII), 46n (men dancing: Laconian LG).

63. Brandt (2001), 107; (2003), 64–70.
64. Brandt (2006).
65. Sheep as sacrificial animals: Uppsala (ABV 519.15; *Beazley Addenda* 61; *Beazley Addenda*² 129, owl on altar representing Athena; note also cow behind column). Pig as a sacrificial animal: (a) Relief from the Acropolis (Michaelis (1871), pl. 15.17); (b) Relief from the Acropolis, inv. 581 (Schrader 1939, 304–5, no. 424, pl. 175).—Cow as a sacrificial animal: (a) Berlin 1686 (ABV 296.4; *Beazley, Para.* 128; *Beazley Addenda* 39); (b) Roman market (ABV 393.20); (c) Inv. 2298 (Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, pl. 96); (d) London 1905.7–11.1 (ABV 443.3, 475.29; *Beazley Addenda*² 120); (e) London B 80 (Pfuhl 1923, pl. 39.169 (Boeotian)).—To these can be added the Parthenon frieze, south side: see e.g. Robertson (1975), South XLI, XLIII, XXXIX, XL, XLII, XXXVIII, XLIII, XLIV; Boardman (1985), pls. 41–4; Jenkins (1994), 71–4, with figs. Compare also Kadletz (1976), 96, 113.
66. Brandt (2001), 110.
67. See n. 66: Cow (a): The painter of the name vase Berlin 1686 belonged to a group of painters contemporary with the earliest members of Group E, i.e. Exekias' seniors. In another amphora, The Painter of Berlin 1686 presents on the obverse four hoplites between cock-surmounted Doric columns, i.e. placing the vase in a definite Panathenaic setting; could the two vases referred to have been inspired by Pisistratus' rearrangement of the form of the festival's procession and sacrifice? For the last vase, see Maxmin (1986).
68. Hurwit (1999), 115 (see also pp. 50–1, fig. 38), referring to the use of this word in the so-called Hecatompedon Decree of 485/4 BC (*IG I*³ 4, EM 6794).
69. Winter (1993), 213–14, no. 1, later referred to as building no. 1. Antefix type I and eaves tiles from an Argive system roof (580–570 BC).
70. According to Hurwit (1999), 112–16, and 320, the building elements and sculptures belonging to the period c.580–540 BC are as follows: 2. Building A (Wiegand 1904, 148–55; Shoe 1936, 101, 103, 106, 132, 166, 175 (c.570); Boersma 1970, 232, no. 121 (second quarter of the sixth century BC)); 3–6. The Heracles, The Red Triton, The Introduction, and The Olive Tree pediment (Heberdey 1919, nos. I, II, IV, and III; Hurwit (1999, 116 (second quarter, sixth century BC), 320, though on this last page the Olive Tree pediment is also dated to the third quarter, sixth century BC)); 7. An unlettered building with a painted pediment (fragment showing lioness) (Heberdey no. XIIb; Klein 1991, 26–8, 33; Hurwit 1999, 116 (second quarter of sixth century BC)); 8. Building Aa (Dinsmoor 1950, 71 = no. 7 above; Boersma (1970), 232, under no. 121); 9. Building C (Wiegand (1904), 162–6; Shoe 1936, 151, 158 (c.550); Boersma 1970, 234, no. 125; Hurwit 1999, 320: date 550–540 BC); 10.

- Lyons 'kore' (Hurwit 1999, 115–16, fig. 88, 320: 550–540 BC); 11–14. Architectural terracottas belonging to at least four separate Acropolis buildings (Hurwit 1999, 341 n. 52; Winter 1993, 214–19 (nos. 2–4: 570–550 BC), 220–3 (nos. 7–8: 550 BC)); 15–17. Further architectural terracottas belonging to three more separate Acropolis buildings, listed by Winter (1993), 224–5 (nos. 9–11: 550–540 BC). This gives a minimum total of nine buildings (nos. 1–7 + 9–10) and a maximum of 17. Dinsmoor (1950), 71 considered the pediment no. 4 to be the new pediment of which no. 6 was the front one.
71. According to Hurwit (1999), 112–16, and 320, the building elements and sculptures are distributed chronologically as follows: 18. Antefix type VI and eaves tile type VII (Winter 1993, 225–7 (no. 12): 540–530 BC); 19. 'An unusual terracotta *akroterion* in the form of a seated goddess decorated a small building that seems to have been built (or refurbished) around 530 or 520 BC.' (Hurwit 1999, 116, with refs. to Bookidis 1982; Vlassopoulou 1988, xix (cat. no. 30)); 20. Gorgoneia antefix type VI and eaves tile type IX (Winter 1993, 227–8 (520 BC)); 21. Building B (Wiegand 1904, 155–62; Shoe 1936, 107, 158, 166 (end of the sixth century BC); Boersma 1970, 233, no. 122; Klein 1991, 17–35; Hurwit 1999, 134, fig. 109, no. 110 (525–500 BC)); 22–25. Architectural terracottas from four separate buildings, though no. 22 seems to be a replacement of no. 18 (Winter 1993, 228–32 (nos. 15–18, dated respectively: 510–500, 500, 500–480, 500–480 BC)); 26. Building D (Wiegand 1904, 166–8; Shoe 1936, 66, 69 (before 480); Dinsmoor 1947, 126, n. 86: considerably after 479 BC; Boersma 1970, 236, no. 128; Klein 1991, 32–5); 27. Building E (Wiegand 1904, 168–71; Shoe 1936, 107, 158, 166 (before 480 BC); or should also this be dated to after c.480 BC?) Total minimum of six buildings (nos. 21, 26, 27 and three of nos. 18–20, 23–5) and a maximum of nine, of which two may have been raised after the Persian sack of the Acropolis in 480 BC.
 72. See e.g. Dinsmoor (1950), 71 n. 1, 89, 91 (= buildings B, C, and E).
 73. See Hurwit (1999), 115–16.
 74. As suggested, but not further discussed, by Hurwit (1999), 116. However, this does not exclude that a few of the buildings could have been used for other purposes (cf. n. 78).
 75. See n. 70, nos. 3–6 above.
 76. See n. 71, no. 21.
 77. All measurements are internal. See n. 35.
 78. Boersma (1970), 131, no. XIII and 215, no. 91.
 79. If one of the earlier buildings had been reserved for the *arrephoroi*, a new building would perhaps have been deemed necessary after the sack. The size of the late fifth-century BC building (foundations c.12×12 m) associated with the young girls is not much larger than the possible

- hestiatoria* = Hurwit (1999), 7, fig. 3, no. 8, 199–200, 315–16, no. 12 (Building III).
80. Travlos (1871), 482; Hurwit (1999), 196.
 81. Reese et al. (2000).
 82. Reese et al. (2000), 450, table 6.3. For the dates of the periods, see p. 157 above.
 83. Cf. also J. C. Shaw (2000b), 683–5.
 84. M. C. Shaw (2000), 172.
 85. By using Baumbach's material, but arranging it according to different categories, other results can be achieved. For an attempt in this direction, see Johannessen (2010) (in Norwegian, but an English version is in preparation).
 86. For Athens, see the material published by Graef and Langlotz (1909–33), vol. i; for Cyrene, the material published by Moore (1987); for Samos the material published by Kreuzer (1998).
 87. Unidentified scenes and pots/potsherds decorated with ornaments are not included in the numbers in Table 5.4 below.
 88. Unidentified scenes in Kreuzer (1998) are cat. nos.: 17, 34, 40, 44, 78, 88, 96, 107, 122, 135, 175, 180, 192, 196, 220, 225, 229, 275, 282–4, 288–9, 302, 313–14, 318, 320–1, 380, 396, 401, 403, 415, 417–8, 422, 427.
 89. The Samian material (Kreuzer 1998) has been dated as follows: 600–575 BC: 27 vases (7 per cent); 575–550 BC: 100 vases (24 per cent); 550–525 BC: 198 vases (48 per cent); 525–500 BC: 67 vases (16 per cent); 500–475 BC: 22 vases (5 per cent); for a total of 414 vases. For Cyrene the distribution is as follows (Moore 1987): 600–575 BC: 9 vases (3 per cent); 575–550 BC: 46 vases (16 per cent); 550–525 BC: 84 vases (30 per cent); 525–500 BC: 89 vases (31 per cent); 500–475 BC: 56 vases (20 per cent); for a total of 284 vases. On the Acropolis in Athens the majority of the black-figure vases derive from the latest decades of the sixth century BC (Langlotz, in Graef and Langlotz (1909–33), vol. ii, p. vii).
 90. Furthermore, note that for the Acropolis vases, through a lack of published photographs or drawings, many of the allocations have been determined from the description of the sherds only.
 91. If the vases with scenes of animals are eliminated from the table the similar percentage distribution of this group becomes even more apparent: Athens: 31 per cent; Cyrene: 36 per cent; Samos: 35 per cent.
 92. Nor does Athena appear frequently among the few published fragments of black-figure vase paintings found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth (see Pemberton 1990, 136 (cat. no. 297) and 138 (cat. no. 302), both of Corinthian production, and 139 (cat. nos. 305–7: Panathenaic amphorae), 142 (cat. no. 328: Nicosthenic pyxis)). However, Rouse (1902), 391–3, and Alroth (1989), 108–13, have demonstrated that the

- dedications of figurines of one deity can be found in the sanctuary of another (see also Boardman et al. 2004, 284, 316).
93. Athena played a prominent part in the wars, but Athens did not. However, under Pisistratus the ships' catalogue in the *Iliad* was edited to include also a contingent of Athenian ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.546–51). Reading of Homer was, in addition, among the competitions at the Panathenaic festival—see Brandt (2001), 110, for further refs.
 94. Merker (2000), 67–8, 332–3.
 95. See, most recently, Servadei (2005), 191; for a total, summary view of the Theseus vases, see pp. 191–215.
 96. Merker (2000), 326: at Corinth figurines for the Demeter and Kore sanctuary could be bought in a shop in the South Stoa, as demonstrated by a deposit of the third century BC.
 97. Levi (1956), 290–6, fig. 4; Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 50, 157–7, 161–88, 250–2 (cat. nos. 7, 10–14, 60–266 *passim*), pls. 1, 5, 12–37; cf. also Cassimatis (1982).
 98. Levi (1955–6), 237–55; (1956), 296–300, figs. 6–8; Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 156–7 (cat. nos. 8–9), pls. 3–4. Cf. also Hadzisteliou Price (1971).
 99. Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 171 (cat. no. 124), 251, pl. 21.
 100. Levi (1955–6), 266, fig. 61; Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 186 (cat. no. 236), 255–6, pl. 35. Cf. also Pernier (1914), 66–70, no. 6, figs. 36–8; and Yalouris (1950), 91, no. 2, fig. 14. Among the votives at Gortyna were also found a large number of horse statuettes including a *pinax* (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 157, 186, 188–90 (cat. nos. 15, 238, 267–92), pls. 5, 35, 38–41) and a bronze needle topped by a horse (Levi 1955–6, 231–2, 239 (fig. 35); Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 17, fig. 32).
 101. Levi (1956), 300–4, figs. 10–11; Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 161 (cat. no. 59), pl. 11.
 102. Levi (1955–6), 249 (fig. 45), 263; Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 175 (cat. no. 164), pl. 25.
 103. Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 193–7 (cat. nos. 324–41), 250, pls. 44–6; cf. also Cassimatis (1990), 467–8.
 104. See e.g. Demargne (1980), 199; De Vita (1991), 315, 317. Cf. also Cassimatis (1982), 462; (1990), 468.
 105. Brandt (2006).
 106. Marinatos (2000), 67–91. Among the early votive offerings at Gortyna males are also present, see Rizza and Scrinari (1968), 171 (cat. no. 127), pl. 21; 175 (cat. nos. 161, 163, 166), pls. 24–6; 176 (cat. no. 168), pl. 26 (as a hoplite); 176 (cat. no. 170), pl. 26; 185 (cat. nos. 224, 225), pl. 34.
 107. On age distinctions with reference to the Gortynian law code, see Willetts (1965), 113–14.
 108. Levi (1955–6), 227 (figs. 16–19), 260–1.

109. Levi (1955–6), 261–2 (figs. 71–5). According to Boardman et al. (2004), 316, bronze miniatures of armour were a Cretan speciality.
110. As suggested by Furley (1981), 171; Cassimatis (1982), 461–2; 1990, 468; cf. also Brandt (2003), 74. On transition/initiation rites in general, see van Gennep (1960), 65–115; Turner (1969), 94–130; (1974), 231–71; Bourdieu (1977), 96–158 *passim*; and in Greece e.g. Padilla (1999); Dodd and Faraone (eds.) (2003).
111. More than 24,000 figurines and fragments have been recovered from the excavations, out of which the referred publication has made a selection (nearly 900 specimens) and published the best recognizable types (Merker 2000, 1–7, 20–2; see also Bookidis 2003, 255). In my following text the preliminary quantities given refer to those identified and given by Merker.
112. Merker (2000), 67. See also Dentzer (1980), esp. 1–20.
113. Implied by Merker (2000), 333.
114. I here use the word *male* in the sense proposed by Marinatos (2000), 67–91 (see also above pp. 174–5).
115. For the Athenian *kore*-statues, see the latest Keesling (2003), who on p. 201 concludes: ‘the Acropolis korai appear to us to be iconographically generic, anonymous female votaries meant to embody the idea of worship rather than to represent any specific, recognizable subject, either human and divine’—a conclusion pulling in the same direction as mine.
116. For such an experience on this see, e.g. Brandt (1996), 318.

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The Political Process in the Public Festival

The Panathenaic Festival of Athens

Jenifer Neils

When springtime comes, which delights the whole world, every *citizen* begins thinking about celebrating a beautiful feast of the *patron deity*, which is in *midsummer*. And right at the beginning each person provides for suitable clothes and adornments and jewelry . . . months beforehand they begin to make the *robe* and the clothes of the slaves and banners and trumpets etc. . . . and to invite people and to gather things for the *banquets*, and to have the *horses* come from everywhere to run the *race*. You see the whole city involved in preparing for the celebration and the spirits of the *youth* and *women* involved in such preparations.¹

Although the above passage could be recounting the typical aspects of any festival, for classicists it seems to describe a typical Panathenaia in ancient Athens which its citizens celebrated in midsummer (28 Hecatombaion) in honour of their patron divinity Athena, with the presentation of a special robe (*peplos*) accompanied by feasting and equestrian contests, a spectacular festival in which women played a special role.² The text, however, describes the medieval *festa* of Saint John, the annual celebration of the patron deity of Florence held on 24 June, at which a special cloth known as the *palio* of San Giovanni was awarded as a prize to the winner of the horse race that took place in the centre of the city. The similarities are striking down to the fancy costumes (Athenian metics, for example, wore special purple robes at the Panathenaia) and also the trumpet (*salpinx*) which may once have been depicted on the Parthenon's west frieze.³ Even the contestants in

some Italian horse races, like Siena's famous Palio, represent divisions of the city, not unlike those Athenian citizens who competed by *phyle* in the tribal contests (*euandria*, pyrrhic dance, boat race, torch race, chariot races like the *apobates*) held in democratic Athens.⁴ Civic ideology is embedded in both festivals which took place in the heart of the city (Agora and Campo) and which involved the population as a whole, including women and slaves.⁵

The *fiesta* of San Giovanni held in medieval Florence—depicted in a painting of 1440 in the Cleveland Museum of Art (see Fig. 6.1)—had particularly close civic parallels with the Panathenaia, beyond those elements common to many festivals, namely processions, special costumes, feasting, offerings, competitions, and prizes. And in 1410 (the date of the passage above) the political situation of Florence closely resembled that of mid-fifth-century Athens. Eight years earlier the Italian city had withstood an attempt by Milan to subvert its freedom, and had just recently captured the port city of Pisa, resulting in a flow of booty into Florence and its establishment as a new sea power. As the social historian Trexler writes, the Florentines believed that

the feast of San Giovanni was no longer a territorial rite, a paltry local festival to satisfy local needs, but the finest celebration of the saint in the whole world, a proud announcement, one might add, that the *arrivistes* had arrived. The opening lines of this description seem to say that the days of internal and external insecurity were past, that the Florentines do nothing but celebrate, and that the whole world and its wealth would come to this city.⁶

This positive and much idealized assessment could also apply to Athens in the mid-fifth century since the city had successfully



Fig. 6.1. *Race of the Palio in the Streets of Florence*. Cassone panel painting by Giovanni Toscani, AD 1418.

overcome internal dissension and established a democracy, had almost single-handedly fought off the threat of a Persian conquest, and was now head of a defensive league based on sea power from which tribute flowed to the city. Because in 450 BC Athens was at the height of its political power we would expect to see this hegemony expressed in its most important civic festival, just as was the case in fifteenth-century Florence.

Any festival—ancient, medieval, or modern—is based on two fundamental concepts: performance and communication. The performance of ritual in Greece (most commonly at a festival) was almost always a public event intended to take place before an audience. Greek festivals provided occasions in which a large cross-section of the community, and notably women, were called upon to participate, whether as performers or spectators. Thus, *heortai* and *pompai* played central roles in defining the identity of the community, that is to say, whoever was included was considered important to the polis at large. While scholars can, and do, hypothesize about the communicative aims of ancient festivals using evidence from literary accounts and inscriptions, it is difficult to reconstruct their performative aspects. It is here that living traditions such as the Palio in Siena can come to our aid by serving as models for ancient customs.⁷ Examining the Panathenaia in terms of its most complete visual representation, the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon, this paper will investigate how its performative aspects, and especially the new additions to the older sixth-century Panathenaia, communicated both the ideology and the political policies of fifth-century Athens.

In exploring the effects of contemporary politics on the evolving format of Athens' Panathenaic festival, a diachronic as opposed to the usual synchronic approach to the festival is warranted.⁸ While the religious core of the festival—the animal sacrifice at the altar of Athena Polias—remained more or less the same over time, other components of the festival were added—adapting to changing political and social circumstances. To investigate how the festival changed in light of political events, we must first understand what constituted the earlier version of the Panathenaia, and then attempt to determine what was added and why. The essential changes in the early to mid-fifth century, as I see them, include increased involvement of the cavalry, the possible addition of a chariot race modelled on Homeric epic (*apobates*), greater prominence allocated to women, and perhaps

the presentation of the *peplos* or robe. While much of the following is speculative, it is supported by visual and inscriptional evidence.

ATTIC VASES

Because most of the textual sources relating to the Panathenaia provide information about this festival's format only in much later times (e.g. the prize list *IG II² 2311* dated to c.370 BC), we must rely on visual evidence for the festival in the sixth and fifth centuries. The Panathenaic prize amphoras, beginning with the Burgon amphora of 566 BC, are the most obvious source of information but they depict only the athletic and equestrian contests.⁹ Since its beginning the Panathenaic amphora had a distinctive shape that it maintained, along with its conservative black-figure technique, for the many centuries of its production.¹⁰ But it is the sudden appearance of new contests, like the race in armour on prize amphoras of c.520 BC, which indicates the addition of events to the Panathenaic programme. The prize amphoras are even capable of making contemporary political allusions like, for instance, the examples produced c.403 BC, which depict the Tyrannicides statue group on the shield of Athena.¹¹ Uninscribed and so non-prize amphoras of Panathenaic shape, the so-called pseudo-Panathenaic amphoras, and red-figure amphoras of Panathenaic shape, help to flesh out the array of festival events with their depictions of musical contests, processions, and sacrifices.¹²

Even other ceramic shapes may reveal something about early events held at the Panathenaia. For instance, a famous Siana cup in Amsterdam of c.560 BC (see Fig. 6.2) depicts on the exterior two teams of bearded male dancers wearing unusual caps.¹³ There are six dancers on each side divided into two groups of three; each triad is similarly dressed and posed. The triads flank a seventh male playing the *aulos* on each side. While Brijder interpreted the equine forms on the dancers' caps as representing satyrs' ears, the figures lack the telltale characteristic of satyric dancers, namely the large phallus. Also the stateliness of the dancers and their elegant costumes (as opposed to padded dancers who wear short garments or are nude) suggest a ritual rather than sympotic setting.¹⁴ Because the interior shows Athena in the pose of the soon-to-be-canonical Panathenaic



Fig. 6.2. Attic black-figure Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, c.560 BC. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3356.

Athena and because two teams are clearly shown, some early Panathenaic contest may have been intended by the artist. While we have no literary evidence for dance competitions at the earliest Panathenaia,¹⁵ other than the pyrrhic dancers in armour which clearly these are not, this cup may provide visual evidence for just such an event in the early years of the festival.

Likewise a black-figure amphora of c.550 BC in the Louvre which depicts the birth of Athena on the obverse, shows four draped male lyre-players in procession on the reverse (see Fig. 6.3).¹⁶ Three of them are bearded but one is still a youth; two have their right legs raised while the other two are standing still, so that they appear to be performing as they play their instruments. In number they recall both the four draped citharists on the north and south friezes of the Parthenon, and in their dance-like steps a late fifth-century Attic red-figure crater, which shows three aged men with citharas dressed in satyr-like outfits and who are labelled on the vase 'singers at the Panathenaia'.¹⁷ Given the facts that the Panathenaia was reputedly celebrated on the birthday of Athena and this very event decorates the other side of the vase, it is not unreasonable to associate these performers with the early Panathenaia.

Turning to the procession at the Panathenaia, the now well-known Niarchos band cup (see Fig. 6.4) is our best evidence for the sixth-century Panathenaic *pompe*. With its twenty figures and four animals,



Fig. 6.3. Reverse of an Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Omaha Painter, c.560. Paris, Louvre E 861.



Fig. 6.4. Attic black-figure band cup, c.560–550 BC. Niarchos collection.

it represents the most extensive illustration of a procession to Athena in Attic art before the Parthenon frieze (see below) and as such is almost certainly the Panathenaic procession. Besides the goddess Athena at the far left, there are two other females: a priestess who stands behind the altar next to the goddess, and a *kanephoros* who leads the procession. In front of her a draped male figure with a branch, probably the priest or *archon basileus*, has already arrived and shakes hands with the priestess. I have suggested elsewhere that the sacrificial animals, a bull, sow, and ram indicate that a *souvetaurelia* could have been the original sacrifice to Athena.¹⁸ For the rest of the procession this cup compares surprisingly closely to the Parthenon frieze with its musicians (two *auletes* and a citharist) and *thallophoroi* (men with branches). At the far right end are three helmeted hoplites with large round shields and a lone horseman. His presence demonstrates that some sort of abbreviated equestrian parade took place at mid-sixth-century Panathenaic festivals. It is noteworthy, however, that there is no indication here of the gift of a robe or *peplos*, a point to which I shall return.

PARTHENON FRIEZE

One hundred years later a designer for the Parthenon was challenged to devise a composition for its 160-metre-long Ionic frieze.¹⁹ The brilliant (but unprecedented for a temple) solution to this design challenge was the procession of the Great Panathenaia held every four years in honour of the temple's deity Athena. With its 378 participants, the frieze represents the most complete extant depiction of the Panathenaic festival. While it portrays primarily the *pompe* or procession (and some of the preparations leading up to it)—and probably not even a complete rendition of that—the frieze nonetheless provides the viewer, then and now, with those elements of the festival that were important to the Athenians in the mid-fifth century. These can be broken down into: procession, competition, sacrifice (which implies later feasting), and the presentation of a gift. The visitor to the Classical Acropolis would have read the frieze temporally from west to east, from the preparations for the *pompe* to its climax, as he or she walked along the temple.²⁰ However, hierarchically it reads the other way because the most important elements

(heroes, gods, presentation of gifts) are all on the east side. If we examine the individual components, especially in relation to the earlier Niarchos cup, we can better understand how the festival changed in relation to the changing political ideology of Athens.

The first element that the viewer encountered was the cavalcade—sixty horsemen each on north and south, and another fifteen on the west—a dramatic increase from the lone horseman on the Niarchos cup. As scholars have observed, the riders are shown in their ten tribal ranks, and so they certainly represent the Athenian cavalry which was constituted by tribe. Commentators have wondered at the large number of horsemen, but their appearance can be related to a recent political event. One of Pericles' military reforms was to expand the cavalry from three hundred to one thousand, and so these ranks of horsemen represent the newly expanded Athenian cavalry—no doubt the pride and joy of the Athenian military. Not only do horses make for a splendid parade—then as now—but they clearly advertise the wealth of the city and the new importance accorded its cavalry.²¹

On the Niarchos cup the hoplites with their prominent shields precede the lone equestrian, but on the frieze it is the *apobatai* who carry large shields and precede the cavalcade (see Fig. 6.5). It would appear that these contestants replaced the hoplites in the pictorial tradition, and the question is why? According to Demosthenes (*Erotikos* 23–4) only the best men who were citizens could compete in this contest. It was an event, he says, that promoted courage and high-spiritedness (*eupsychia*), ideals important to the Athenian state.²² As such it was one of the most important events of the Classical Panathenaia and so was placed prominently on the Parthenon, in the centre of the north and south sides of the frieze. However, it relates to a style of battle used only in Homeric times when warriors entered the fray on chariot and leapt off to fight. Although the contest was reputedly founded by Erechtheus, its first representations in Attic art occur c.480–470 BC on mass-produced Haimonian *lekythoi* which could be souvenirs of the festival.²³ It appears only twice on Panathenaic prize amphoras, and the earliest is dated to the first half of the fourth century.²⁴ Therefore it seems likely that this contest was only introduced into the Panathenaia after the Persian Wars to burnish the arriviste games at Athens with a 'Bronze Age' patina. Perhaps the recitation of Homeric epic at the rhapsodic contests introduced by the sons of Pisistratus at the end of the sixth century prompted the



Fig. 6.5. *Apobates*. Parthenon frieze, c.447–432 BC.

addition of this event to the Panathenaia, and, if truly a tribal event, it must have been added after the reforms of Cleisthenes. At any rate it can plausibly be argued that it was a later element of the festival, added to heighten the drama of the equestrian races and to lend a distinctively Athenian component to them.²⁵ It is then featured on the frieze in order to provide a legitimacy that the contest might lack because of its novelty in an otherwise traditional programme.

At the eastern end of the north and south sides of the frieze the viewer encounters the more traditional aspects of the Panathenaia, many of which are already depicted on the band-cup (see Fig. 6.4): Athenian men carrying branches (*thallophoroi*) and youths performing duties relating to the animal sacrifice, namely leading the sacrificial cows and sheep, carrying *skaphei* and *hydriai*, and making music. Their respective positions at the heads of the two processions on the north and south sides would indicate that these elements are important to the festival but perhaps not as important as those around the corner on the east.

The majority of the east frieze is made up of the processions of women and their marshals. In fact it is remarkable what a large number of women (twenty-nine) appear here—indicating their essential role in Athenian ritual. There are clearly two types of women distinguished by dress and hairstyle: young virgins (some of whom are *kanephoroi*) wearing back-pinned mantles and with their long hair trailing down their backs; and more matronly women, wearing their hair up and enveloped in their mantles. The latter are thought to be married women, and because there seem to be exactly ten of them they may relate to the tribal units of Athens. This is confirmed by the fact that they appear in exactly the same configuration as the eponymous heroes, namely six on the south and four on the north. I have suggested that these Athenian wives might also represent the ten Athenian tribes, so in effect *eponymai*.²⁶ This is admittedly a radical notion in such a patriarchal society, but when we consider that the citizenship law of Pericles, stipulating that citizenship would now be based on having an Athenian mother as well as an Athenian father, was passed at this exact time it is perhaps not so strange. On late fifth-century vases with depictions of the tribal torch race held at the Panathenaia a standing, draped woman is sometimes shown handing over a torch to the starting runner or holding the prize ox.²⁷ She, too, has been identified as the *phyle* personified, so it is not problematic to see women representing the ten Attic tribes on the frieze. Again this demonstrates that the Parthenon's (re)presentation of the Panathenaic festival clearly had an agenda, one that endorsed new contests and new policies. By presenting these tribal women on the entry porch of the city's new temple, they are in effect ratified in perpetuity.

Next on the east frieze come ten males, young and old, in conversation and they can only be the eponymous heroes. Other identifications have been proposed such as the *athlothetai*—but officials of the games should be older and so bearded. With their distinctive facial features, they have even been individually identified, the non-royal six on the south, and the four Athenian kings on the north. Unlike all the other figures on the frieze (with the exception of the gods) these figures *do nothing*, and so they must *represent something*. One of the newer, i.e. post-Cleisthenic features of the Panathenaia and one which distinguished it from other Panhellenic games, was its tribal contests. Not unlike the competing *contrade* of Siena, these inter-mural sports competitions helped consolidate the loyalties of the citizens to their

new civic units and in so doing strengthened the democracy.²⁸ The heroes stand here for the political structure of the city and again by their position on the east frieze demonstrate the importance of this political innovation to the well-being of the polis.

The representation of the ten tribal heroes along with a more subtle indication of ten married women suggests that the designer of the frieze was not only referencing the new policy of Pericles but was also demonstrating the importance of the *phylai* to the Athenian state. Whether women actually marched in the procession in some sort of recognizable tribal order is impossible to prove because they are not as individualized as the *eponymoi*. But again the many other ways in which the frieze subtly references the tribal divisions (via the cavalry in their ten ranks, the ten chariots, ten sacrificial cows on the south, etc.) demonstrate that these units were now embedded in the festival itself, just as they were in the ideology of the city.

Flanking the *peplos* ceremony are the twelve Olympian gods, six on either side—with their backs to the central scene. Rather than a design flaw as argued by earlier scholars, we should see these gods as seated in a semicircle, as Pindar describes the seating plan of the gods in his fourth Nemean ode (66–9). The gods are in effect taking part in a *theoxenia* to which they are all invited—they form the audience for the all-important *peplos* ceremony and give it their divine endorsement. This would be an especially important message to convey to the viewer if this were in fact a new ceremony, namely that the gods take pleasure in this new gift to Athena. While the gods of the Parthenon frieze are of course a vision, not a reality, it does seem likely that stools, namely those listed in the inventory of the treasury of the Parthenon, were set out for them in front of the temple, as in a *theoxenia* as described in ancient texts.²⁹

The centre of the east frieze features a male priest and an adult female interacting with three young assistants. The main element here is the key identifying device or sign of the Panathenaia—the *peplos* presented to Athena. Not unlike the *palio* in medieval and Renaissance Italy, it was first featured in the procession, as it constitutes the *raison d'être* of the festival—the annual gift to the city goddess—and then is featured prominently at the temple's entrance held by the chief religious magistrate of the city, the *archon basileus*. The woman back to back with the priest must be the priestess of Athena Polias since her cult statue was the eventual destination of the *peplos*. The two younger females are most likely the two *arrhephoroi*

who served the priestess of Athena Polias on the Acropolis and were chosen to begin the weaving of the *peplos*. They are carrying objects, as their name implies—not obviously the secret objects of their eponymous festival, the Arrhephoria—but the stools for the priest and priestess.³⁰

As I have argued elsewhere, I believe that the ritual of presentation has been successfully accomplished and the *peplos* is being folded up for storage until the festival of the Callynteria when it will be placed on the olive wood statue in the temple of Athena Polias.³¹ So here we have, not precisely the high point of the festival, but the denouement or completion—not unlike the ‘tail doing nicely’ on the altar, as elucidated by Folkert van Straten.³² This representation of the successful completion of the ceremony communicates a distinct message: that the pleasure of the goddess is assured and the city will enjoy her protection for another year.

Noel Robertson has recently argued that the presentation of the *peplos* is not an age-old ceremony as scholars have assumed, but rather an innovation of the 450s.³³ Basing his argument on the Praxierygiae Decree (IG I³ 7), which is usually dated 460–450 BC, he suggests that the ritual was a newly authorized one granting the *genos* of the Praxierygiae the privilege of dressing the statue at a *new* festival held every four years, the Callynteria. If so, this ceremony could have been instituted to involve more women in the Panathenaic festival and so to highlight more significantly their role in the polis. Relating as it does to other garment ceremonies in Greece, it was also calculated to make the ceremony more Panhellenic in nature.³⁴ As noted above, the *peplos* is not shown on the Niarchos cup, and although Robertson cited no visual evidence to support his claim, I believe that its absence there may corroborate his argument.³⁵ The focus of the frieze is the *peplos* ceremony, establishing its importance for the city—and it is echoed in the robing of Pandora on the base of the Parthenos statue—also a new theme in Athenian art of the 460s. If this is a new ceremony like the *apobates* race, it is given legitimacy by its prominent placement here at the entrance to the temple.

POLITICS IN THE FESTIVAL

Thus, in many ways the imagery of the Parthenon frieze is not old and traditional as one might expect in a religious context, but radically

new. If the presentation of an annual *peplos* began in the 460s, if women were given new prominence by the citizenship law of Pericles in 450 BC, and if the cavalry was expanded at this time, then the frieze acts as an important vehicle to legitimize new religious ritual as well as political and military policies. By mixing old (procession, sacrifice) and new (*peplos*, women, cavalry, possibly the *apobates* race) the designer of the frieze helped to solidify in stone the prevailing ideology of mid-fifth-century Athens.³⁶

What this demonstrates in terms of festivals is that their components can and do change over time according to an altered political climate, and that the state was capable of inventing traditions, as it did with its most famous hero Theseus. The festival life of the city was closely connected to its political life as Connor and others have noted. He states that 'one of the ideals that informed Attic democracy was that of achieving a festival society'.³⁷ That festival society is brilliantly portrayed on the Parthenon's walls, and this document helps us to better understand the relative importance or hierarchy of specific events. Here on the frieze we find Athens' finest acting out the new political policies of its first citizen, Pericles. I believe we can assume that such allusions were also present in the Panathenaic *pompe* as it evolved from an aristocratic to a democratic festival. While the main function of the festival was to win the support of the gods, a secondary function was to consolidate the community. As the Athenians looked up to the frieze they surely believed that they were worthy of divine benefaction.

NOTES

1. The entire passage is cited, without my italics and slight changes, in Trexler (1980), 215–6.
2. On the Panathenaic festival of ancient Athens, see Parke (1977), 29–50; Simon (1983), 55–72; Neils (1992); Shear (2001); Neils and Tracey (2003); Parker (2005), 253–68.
3. For the metics' costume, see Neils (2001), 150. For the possible trumpet or salpinx, see Neils (2001), 129–33, figs. 90, 93–5.
4. On the Palio of Siena see Handelman (1990), 116–35. For trial contests at the Panathenaia, see Neils (1994). Although the *apobates* is not listed as one of the tribal contests, the Parthenon frieze seems to depict it as such with ten chariots on the south, eleven on the north.

5. For the role of women in the Panathenaia and other Greek festivals, see Lefkowitz (1996); Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008).
6. Trexler (1980), 215.
7. e.g. Winter (2000) discusses 'systemic parallels' in examining religion in ancient Mesopotamia along with contemporary image worship in India.
8. Neils (1992); Shear (2001).
9. For Panathenaic prize amphoras, see Bentz (1998).
10. For the earliest Panathenaic prize amphoras, see Brandt (1978).
11. See Bentz (1998), 50–1, and nos. 5.239 (London B 206), 5.244–5 (Hildesheim (1253) and (1254)).
12. For pseudo-Panathenaic amphoras, see Bentz and Eschbach (2001), 177–95. For red-figure Panathenaics, see Bentz and Eschbach (2001), 199–202; Shapiro (2001); Neils (2004b).
13. Amsterdam 3356; ABV 6.57 (attributed to the Heidelberg Painter); CVA Amsterdam 2, pls. 82–5; Brijder (1986). This vase has been discussed recently in Moore (2006), 38, and Hart (2010), 22, no. 6.
14. For ritual contexts in vase paintings of dancers, see Smith (2004).
15. The famous Atarbos base shows both a pyrrhic dance and dithyrambic chorus; for discussion of this base and the events depicted as taking place at the Panathenaia, see Makres (2009). See also Wilson (2000), 36–40.
16. Louvre E 861; *Paralipomena* 331 (attributed to the Omaha Painter); CVA Louvre 1, pl. 6.
17. New York 1925.78.66; ARV²1171.8 (Polion).
18. Niarchos collection, band-cup; see Simon (1983), 63, pls. 16.2, 17.2; Neils (2007), 44–5, fig. 2. On the *trittys* at the early Panathenaic festivals, see Brandt (2001).
19. On the design challenges of the frieze, see Neils (2001), 33–71.
20. For the viewing of the frieze see Osborne (1987).
21. On the cavalcade, see Neils (2001), 132–37; Jenkins (2005).
22. On the *apobates* contest, see Crowther (1991); Schultz (2007); Neils and Schultz (forthcoming).
23. Reber (1999) has argued that a Geometric amphora from Eretria might show the *apobates* race, but this drawing is so schematic that the identification is not assured, and almost 300 years intervene between this vase and the next extant representations.
24. See Bentz (1998), 78–9.
25. Schultz (2007), 63, alludes to this possibility in his n. 11.
26. Neils (2005), 207–9.
27. See LIMC 8 (1997) s.v. Phylai (Kron); Bentz (2007), 74–5, and 78.
28. For the role of tribal contests in promoting tribal solidarity, see Neils (1994).
29. For the arrangement and meaning of the gods on the frieze, see Neils (2001), 61–6, and 161–5; Neils (2005).

30. On the arrephoroi, see Palagia (2008). She argues that the two girls interacting with the priestess are *kanephoroi* while I (Neils 2008, 245) maintain that they are the *arrhephoroi*.
31. Neils (2004a), 57–60.
32. Van Straten (1988).
33. Robertson (2004).
34. See Neils (2009).
35. A possible depiction of the *peplos* in Attic vase painting is the object carried on the head of a girl behind Athena on a black-figure Panathenaic-shaped amphora in New York (53.11.1) attributed to the Princeton Painter (ABV 298, 5), but it could simply be a rectangular basket. See Neils (1992), 25, fig. 14.
36. On the Panathenaia and civic ideology, see Kavoulaki (1999); Maurizio (1998); Shapiro (1996).
37. Connor (1992). For Archaic Athens, see Connor (1987). For Classical Athens, see Phillips (2003).

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Talking of Festivals

The Status of Choruses and Choregia

Scott Scullion

The question I attempt to answer in this paper, which it has rarely occurred to scholars to pose, is whether Athenian festival liturgies—the sponsorship of dramatic and of so-called ‘circular’ or dithyrambic choruses—were regarded as religious undertakings.¹ Peter Wilson, in a brief discussion that is nevertheless the fullest treatment of the matter known to me, juxtaposes passages in two speeches of Demosthenes that assume totally different attitudes to this matter—Wilson himself speaks of a ‘*total* reversal of arguments’ (his italics).² Demosthenes argues in his speech of 355/4 against the Law of Leptines that choral liturgies are not religious matters, but claims eight years later (347/6), in his own suit against Meidias for assaulting him in the theatre during his exercise of *choregia* in 348, that choral liturgies *are* religious. Wilson brings out the contrasts and the contrasting forensic strategies very well, but in the end prudently refrains from trying to resolve the underlying question, concluding that we have here ‘an eloquent contradiction indeed [which] very clearly illustrates how the khoregia is always a contested site, always rhetorically inflected’.³ I shall discuss these two speeches in greater detail and also a variety of other passages in the orators, and on that basis will suggest that it *is* possible to answer the underlying question, and that the normal operating assumption was that choral liturgies were secular rather than religious matters.

Let me begin with some background discussion. On the whole—and I am conscious that what I am about to say is by no means a

nuanced account—recent scholarship has tended to assume that Greek festivals are through-and-through religious events, and that such components of them as dramatic and choral contests were felt by those attending the festivals to be religious, and indeed for some scholars ritual performances. I have myself argued that this view is based largely on assumption and that such evidence as we have suggests rather that Greeks distinguished dramatic and choral performance from ritual and that they frequently thought—or at any rate spoke—of festivals in terms that ought to induce in scholars much greater caution about the cultic or religious status of the various component events of festivals.⁴ Let us consider some typical and instructive comments on festivals:

βίος ἀνεόρταστος μακρὴ ὁδὸς ἀπανδόκευτος.

A life without festivals is a long road without inns. (Democr. B 230 DK)

καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει.

We have provided the greatest number of opportunities for the relief of the spirit from its toils, establishing the custom of holding contests and sacrifices throughout the year, alongside our appealing private provisions, the daily delight in which banishes anxiety. (Thuc. 2.38.1)

ὁμοίως δὲ [sc. τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐφίενται] καὶ φυλέται καὶ δημόται . . . θυσίας τε ποιοῦντες καὶ περὶ ταύτας συνόδους, τιμὰς <τε> ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναπαύσεις πορίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς.

Likewise tribesmen or demesmen [aim at the beneficial], holding sacrifices and in connection with them festivals, giving honours to the gods and providing themselves with pleasurable relaxations. (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1160a.18–28)

διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἀνεῖς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, αἰεὶ μὲν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἢ ἐστίασιν ἢ πομπὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ᾧ αἴσται καὶ 'διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἡδοναῖς' τὴν πόλιν.

And so at that time particularly, giving the reins to the people, Pericles administered so as to please them, always devising some festival spectacle or feast or parade in the city and 'entertaining them like children with not unrefined pleasures' [a quotation from a comedy]. (Plut. *Per.* 11.4)

For present purposes, I merely wish to claim that these passages, like many references to festivals in old comedy, *raise the possibility* that

Greeks could think of some of the elements of festivals as not or not strictly religious but as essentially secular entertainments.⁵ Some readers may bridle at this distinction of religious from secular, taking the view that it is a distinction imposed by modern scholars on a Greek cultural context to which it is foreign, but when we come to consider Demosthenes on the Law of Leptines we will encounter a native example of the distinction of religious from other matters, and it is convenient to call these other matters 'secular' even if it is also important not to assume that the Greek distinction corresponds precisely to any modern parallel. I have discussed elsewhere the Greek distinction between, and terminology for, 'sacred' and 'secular',⁶ and so do not go into further detail here.

FESTIVALS AND CHORUSES

The works composed for the choral competitions at Athens seem generally to have lacked any strong or persistent connection, and often even any passing connection, with the festival occasion. Dithyramb was traditionally a Dionysiac genre, but the dithyrambs of Pindar and Bacchylides narrate heroic myth in general and are only sometimes briefly linked to the particular religious occasion, which in the case of Bacchylides is twice Apolline rather than Dionysiac. Dithyramb went under the name *κύκλιος χορός*, 'circular chorus' in fifth-century Athens, and contests of circular choruses are attested not only for the Dionysiac festivals but for Apollo's festival Thargelia (*Suda* π 3130 Adler) and for the Panathenaia in honour of Athena (Lys. 21.2). Athenians also performed circular choruses for Apollo on his sacred island of Delos (Thuc. 3.104, Callim. *Hymn* 4.314).⁷ It has been suggested that the circular choruses for Apollo were paeans⁸ and it might likewise be suggested that those for Athena may have belonged to some choral genre appropriate to her, but this seems very unlikely. There is no doubt that dithyrambs were called *κύκλιοι χοροί*, and the change of appellation perhaps reflected the fact that the genre had ceased to be distinctively Dionysiac in content. It is suggested that paeans may have been called 'circular choruses' because they were performed in a circular formation, but as the term was certainly in use for dithyramb it would have been pointlessly confusing to use it also of what was on this hypothesis the importantly distinct genre of

paean and also for whatever distinctive genre we are to suppose was performed at the Panathenaia. Even if we were to suppose that some residual or notional distinctions among the genres remained, it would surely still be telling that they were all subsumed under a single, new, non-religious name. There were also choral contests at the Athenian Prometheia and Hephaisteia which were referred to, as were those at the Dionysia and Thargelia, merely as ‘the men’ and ‘the boys’ (IG II² 1138.10–11), and these too must have been narrative choral songs of no distinct traditional genre. Our testimonia to the contests all employ the undifferentiated terms, and Plato in the *Laws* (700a–c) complains precisely that the Athenians do not observe the traditional distinctions between hymns, dirges, paeans, and dithyrambs and that they submit their mongrel choruses to the approval of the hooting and clapping masses. All this in turn coheres with our extant choruses composed for fifth-century dramatic and choral competitions, almost none of which are specimens of a single traditional genre with a consistent focus on the divinity, ritual, or myth of the festival. The contrast with, for example, the Homeric hymns is striking, and I conclude that the choruses performed competitively at Athenian festivals, and probably at many other Greek festivals, generally have little significant connection with the particular religious context.

Plato, in the passage of *Laws* cited above (700a–701b), proposes to institute a rigid regime of cultic events that would stand in contrast to the Athenian festivals with their crowds of choruses singing songs of no fixed genre. In Plato’s ideal world the old, strictly defined forms of hymn would be sung on fixed sacrificial occasions to the relevant god. There can be little doubt that Plato is conjuring up a non-existent golden age, but his evidence for mixture of choral genres coheres with our other evidence, and there is no reason not to reckon with the possibility that there is truth in his view that this has to do with an Athenian—and indeed a specifically *democratic* Athenian—focus on the pleasure of spectators and with a related loosening of choral music from the constraint of ritual functionality.

In an important recent book on Bacchylides, David Fearn (2007) offers perhaps the most extensive and careful discussion yet of the controversial matter of the relationship of *kuklioi choroi* to the traditional genres and to the various festival contexts in which they were performed. He comes to what seems to me the clearly correct conclusion that the few *kuklioi choroi* among those we can still read that are passingly connected with the particular festival context cannot

efface the equally clear evidence, especially of Bacchylides' dithyrambs, that such connections were not compulsory but a matter of authorial choice, and that the essential characteristic of such choral poetry, no matter the festival context in which it was produced, is the narration of heroic myth. Fearn argues convincingly that 'Rather than suggesting that Bacchylides' poems are reactionary in their lack of Dionysiac content, the few scraps of evidence for work by the famous names in lyric of the preceding century which came to be classified as dithyrambs points to a tradition that Bacchylides was following rather than deviating from'.⁹ 'Evidence from the Bacchylidean corpus', Fearn goes on to say, 'shows that formally and stylistically similar poems were commissioned by and performed in states such as Sparta... as well as at Athens. It would be rather rash to term all of these poems as "Dionysiac dithyrambs", given that they are likely not to have had any Dionysiac connection: rather, Bacchylides' expertise in narrative poetry for choral performance was a significant factor in his panhellenic appeal, whereby the inherent applicability of such a narrative style to a range of different performance contexts made it more easy for his work to be commissioned by widely divergent *poleis* with divergent mythical traditions'.¹⁰ On Fearn's view, we should no longer see Bacchylides as a 'problem case' but as 'an important link between age-old traditions in lyric poetry and the diversity of festive contexts for choral performance in the fifth century'.¹¹ I would argue that the new umbrella term *kuklioi choroi* coheres with the common characteristics of such circular poems as are extant and with the wide range of festival contexts in which they were performed to suggest that it is highly arbitrary to suppose (let alone to claim confidently) that the distinct cultic genres and distinctive cultic functionalities must nevertheless lurk somehow under the umbrella term and the various festival contexts,¹² and Fearn argues convincingly to the same effect. He does not, however, wish to take the step of suggesting that this has to do partly with reduced religious significance, with, as he puts it, 'a shift from religion towards popular demand, politics, or entertainment'. 'For Greece of the fifth century', he claims, 'any such notion needs to be dispatched forthwith since it is also suggestive of a false dichotomy between serious religion and popular, and hence more frivolous, artistic phenomena. Rather, it should be clear that music, like all cultural productions, is part of a discourse which can overlap with, intersect with, or compete against, the discourse of religion. Neither could ever have had any independent existence'.¹³

He makes the rather different claim elsewhere that 'performance of *any* kind at a given festival has to be viewed as potentially religious as well as entertaining or political'.¹⁴

Fearn's book represents important progress in the study of our question, but his refusal to admit the possibility of reduced religious significance seems to me merely arbitrary. He is of course right that performance at a festival is potentially religious, but it is also potentially *non*-religious, and the question which it is cannot be settled by pronouncements but only—if at all—by a hard look at the widest range of potential evidence. 'Any such notion needs to be dispatched forthwith' seems to me to express a degree of overconfident adherence to a fashion in scholarship (in this case a primitivizing anthropological turn in later twentieth-century study of Greek religion) that is losing touch with the possibility of refutation. There need be no false, simplistic 'dichotomy between serious religion and popular, and hence more frivolous, artistic phenomena'. By all means let us reject the notion—whether of Plato or of anyone else—that dramatic or choral poetry that is not subordinate to a religious agenda is necessarily 'frivolous', but that is hardly the only conceivable kind of contrast that we can make. I would myself speak rather of a distinction between serious religion and artistic phenomena that are equally serious in their own, different way. Accepting that Plato was on to something genuine about the development of choral poetry at Athens does not entail acceptance of his disdain for democracy or of his view that Athenian choruses had become mere cheap, popular entertainment.¹⁵ If there is, then, room for doubt about the cultic or ritual status of the competitive choruses at festivals, it is reasonable to look to the orators for evidence of popular attitudes to choregia as a check on the evidence of Plato and on the internal evidence of the choruses themselves.

DEMOSTHENES AGAINST MEIDIAS: CHOREGIA AND 'SPIN'

Let us now turn to the evidence of the orators on the question whether dramatic and choral events were regarded as in any important sense religious. Among the activities at Greek festivals, such as

athletic competitions and markets, that are not—or at any rate not obviously—ritual, the dramatic and choral performances are certainly the likeliest candidates for religious significance, but does the evidence suggest that they were seen by the average festival-goer as sacred? The text that is most extensively concerned with the question whether choral contests—and indeed even processions—were considered sacred activities in the way that sacrifice and prayer were is Demosthenes' speech *Against Meidias* (21), a prosecution of Meidias for the 'festival offence' (ἀδικεῖν/ἀδικήματα περὶ τὴν ἑορτήν) of striking Demosthenes as the latter sat in the theatre as *choregus*, 'chorus-sponsor' of the tribe Pandionis. In the speech Demosthenes argues that Meidias' attack on a choregus amounts to an impiety, but it is well known that advocates in Athenian courts frequently put a 'spin' (as we would nowadays say) on the intent of the law or the circumstances of the case to suit their own ends, and I shall argue that this is what Demosthenes is doing here.

I begin with an example of Demosthenes relying on a quite different assumption than that which he attempts to induce the jurors to adopt in the case against Meidias. He does this not only in his speech against the Law of Leptines, but in the first *Philippic*, where he taxes the Athenians with choosing their military officials not for the battlefield but for the *agora*, where processions were viewed by spectators:

εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς, 'εἰρήνην ἄγετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,' 'μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γ', εἴποιτ' ἄν, 'ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν.' οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψῃτ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

For if someone were to ask you 'are you at peace, Athenians?', 'No, by Zeus, we are not', you would reply, 'on the contrary, we are at war with Philip'. But have you not been electing from among yourselves ten taxiarchs, ten generals, ten leaders of tribal contingents, and two cavalry commanders? What, then, are they doing? Except for the one man whom you send out to battle, the rest are marshalling processions for you with the *hieropoioi* [the magistrates in charge of ritual]. For, like those who mould clay figures, it's for the *agora* that you elect your taxiarchs and leaders of tribal contingents, not for battle. (Dem. 4.25–26)

The implications of this passage are very interesting: no worries, apparently, about a rejoinder to the effect that we will have no hope on the battlefield if we fail to give proper honour to the gods. Not of course that such a rejoinder would have been unthinkable, but it is remarkable that Demosthenes reckoned, as he must have done, not only that this objection would not spring immediately to everyone's mind, but that it would be an effective rhetorical strategy to represent the organization of a festival procession by the generals as culpable frivolity when there was a war to be fought.

This notion of the frivolity of festivals by comparison with military expeditions recurs ten chapters on in the same speech:

καίτοι τί δήποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων αἰεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίνεσθαι, ἂν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τ' ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται χρήματα, ὅσ' οὐδ' εἰς ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσῃν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτείδαιαν;

And yet, Athenians, why ever do you suppose that the Panathenaic festival and the Dionysia always take place at the right time, whether experts or laymen are allotted to manage them, and that large amounts are expended on them such as are not spent on any one of your expeditions, and that they involve attendance and provision on a scale for which I don't know that there is any parallel, whereas all of your expeditions arrive late and miss their opportunity, at Methone, at Pagasae, at Potidaea? (Dem. 4.35–6)

The same sort of contrast occurs in *Against Leptines* (20) 26–7, where Demosthenes says *παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν δαπάνας ἡμέρας μέρος ἢ χάρις τοῖς θεωμένοις ἡμῶν, παρὰ τὰς δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀφθονίας πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἢ σωτηρία πάσῃ τῇ πόλει*, 'For from expenditures on choregiai pleasure comes for part of a day to those of us who are attending the theatre, but from unstinting provision of equipment for war security comes to the whole city for all time'.¹⁶

From a much later period we have a vigorous denunciation of the Athenians for wasting their effort on the 'amusement' (παιδιά) of the theatre (this attributed to 'a Spartan' and possibly Classical in origin) and for spending more on producing plays than on equipping armies (Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 348f–349b). Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* (7) 54

describes the contrast between the golden himations that citizens wear when performing choruses and the wretched garments that fail to protect many of them from winter weather as a 'contradiction' that 'brings great shame on the city'. In all these cases, the notions that such choral and dramatic activities are undertaken in the service of the gods and that their expense is therefore amply justified are notably and completely absent.

Such passages may help us to read *Meidias* correctly, that is with due attention to the fact that Demosthenes, like any orator, not only elicits and relies on existing assumptions in the minds of the jurors, but attempts to manipulate or generate attitudes. Demosthenes' claim is that Meidias, by striking a choregus during the dithyrambic contest at the City Dionysia, has committed an injustice not against Demosthenes alone, but against his whole tribe, against the laws, against the city, and against the god:

οὐκ ἔστ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγὼ μόνος ἡδίκημαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς εἰς τὸν χορὸν γεγενημένοις ἀδικήμασιν ἡ φυλή, δέκατον μέρος ὑμῶν, συνηδίκηται, ἐπὶ δ' οἷς ἔμ' ὕβρισε καὶ ἐπεβούλευσεν οἱ νόμοι, δι' οὓς εἰς ἕκαστος ὑμῶν σὼς ἐστιν: ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις ὁ θεός, ᾧ χορηγὸς ἐγὼ καθειστήκειν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁσίας, ὅτιδήποτ' ἐστί, τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον [συνηδίκηται]. δεῖ δὴ τοὺς γε βουλομένους ὀρθῶς τὴν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων παρὰ τούτου δίκην λαμβάνειν, οὐχ ὥς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ὄντος τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν ταυτῷ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς πόλεως, ὁμοῦ πάντων ἡδικημένων, οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν...

It is not the case that I alone was wronged by any of his acts, but on top of the wrongs committed against the chorus the tribe, a tenth part of you, was also wronged, and on top of his assault and plot against me the laws were also wronged, through which each one of you is made safe, and on top of all of these the god for whom I had been appointed *choregus* and the august and divine power of Holiness, whatever its nature may be, were also wronged. Those who wish to exact from him the punishment adequate to his offences must not be indignant as if the matter concerned me alone but must exact the penalty as if the laws, the god, the polis had all together been wronged in the same way... (Dem. *Meid.* 126–7)

By bringing in tribe, laws, and city as well as god Demosthenes is clearly trying to represent Meidias' blow as subversive of the widest possible range of venerable things. This statement comes more than halfway through the speech, and the striking thing from our point of

view is that Demosthenes feels the need to make a case for the notion that maltreatment of a *choregus* amounts to maltreatment of the god. He does this in a passage towards the beginning of the speech which repays careful analysis:

εἰ μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ χορηγὸς ὢν ταῦτ' ἐπεπόνθειν ὑπὸ Μειδίου, ὕβριν ἂν τις μόνον κατέγνω τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ: νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ, κὰν ἀσέβειαν εἰ καταγιγνώσκοι, τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι τοὺς χοροὺς ὑμεῖς ἅπαντας τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖτε, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς μαντείας, ἐν αἷς ἀπάσαις ἀνηρημένον εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει, ὁμοίως ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐκ Δωδώνης, χοροὺς ἰστάναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ κνισᾶν ἀγνιάς καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν.

If I had not been *choregus* when I suffered these things at the hands of Meidias, *hybris* would be the only offence among those things done by him that you would convict him of, but, as it is, it seems to me that if you were to convict him even of impiety you would be doing the fitting thing. For you know, I suppose, that you perform all these choruses and the hymns for the god not only in accordance with the laws governing the conduct of the Dionysia but also in accordance with oracles, in all of which you will find that the city is enjoined, alike by Delphi and by Dodona, to set up choruses according to ancestral custom and to fill the streets with the savour of sacrifice and to wear crowns. (Dem. *Meid.* 51)

This is followed by quotation of four oracles, after which Demosthenes says:

τί οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὑμᾶς ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δεῖ; ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας θυσίας τοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάστης μαντείας προφαινομένοις θεοῖς προστάττουσι θύειν, ἰστάναι δὲ χοροὺς καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πρὸς ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀφικνουμέναις μαντείαις προσαναירוῦσιν ὑμῖν. οἱ τοίνυν χοροὶ πάντες οἱ γιγνόμενοι καὶ οἱ χορηγοὶ δῆλον ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἃς συνερχόμεθ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, κατὰ τὰς μαντείας ταύτας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστεφανώμεθα, ὁμοίως ὃ τε μέλλων νικᾶν καὶ ὁ πάντων ὕστατος γενήσεσθαι, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἐπινικίων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε ἤδη στεφανοῦται ὁ νικῶν. τὸν οὖν εἷς τινα τούτων τῶν χορευτῶν ἢ τῶν χορηγῶν ὑβρίζοντ' ἐπ' ἔχθρα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερῷ, τοῦτον ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἀσεβεῖν φήσομεν;

What then ought you to infer from these? That on the one hand they command that the sacrifices be performed for the gods who appear in each oracle, and that on the other all the oracles received add an injunction to you to establish choruses and to wear garlands according to ancestral custom. Hence it is clear in the case of all the choruses there

are and the *choregi* that during the days on which we come together for the contest we are crowned according to these oracles on your behalf, likewise the one who is going to win and he who will be placed last of all, and it is only on the day of the victories that the winner is crowned in his own right. And so the man who commits a hostile assault upon one of the *choregus* or *choregi*—and that during the contest itself and in the sanctuary of the god—will we say anything other than that this man commits impiety? (Dem. *Meid.* 54–55)

It seems to me clear that Demosthenes is here attempting to induce the jurors to accept an implication which he does not expect them to see for themselves. In the first passage he speaks as he has elsewhere in the speech of the choruses, one of which he as *choregus* was sponsoring, and of the laws that govern the Dionysia, which are the basis of his prosecution of Meidias for a ‘festival offence’. This category of offence was established not for festivals in general but for particular festivals, those mentioned being the Dionysia in the Peiraieus, the Lenaia, and the City Dionysia, all of which had dramatic and choral contests, the Thargelia, which had a choral contest, and the Eleusinian mysteries.¹⁷ Demosthenes is not, however, content to mention the choruses and laws that are relevant to the case, but brings in hymns and oracles, bracketing the festival choruses with hymns and the laws governing the Dionysia with oracular injunction to the establishment of sacrifices and choruses. He is evidently encouraging the jury to assimilate the choruses performed competitively at festivals to hymns, and laws passed by the Athenian assembly to govern festivals to oracular responses from Delphi and Dodona,¹⁸ or in other words, as I would argue, to assimilate essentially secular matters to matters whose sacred status is undoubted. Demosthenes in fact quotes a law (whose authenticity need not be impugned¹⁹) stating that the Assembly at its annual meeting about the conduct of the Dionysia ‘will deal first with sacred matters [*περὶ ἱερῶν*’] and then go on to consider ‘complaints lodged concerning the procession or the contests at the Dionysia’, which implies that the latter kinds of complaint are not sacred matters, at any rate not in a strict sense:

NΟΜΟΣ Τοὺς πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν Διονύσου τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν Πανδίων. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ χρηματίζειν πρῶτον μὲν περὶ ἱερῶν, ἔπειτα τὰς προβολὰς παραδιδότωσαν τὰς γεγενημένας ἕνεκα τῆς πομπῆς ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ὅσαι ἂν μὴ ἐκτετισμέναι ᾖσιν.

LAW The prytaneis shall hold a meeting of the assembly in the sanctuary of Dionysus on the day after the Pandia. At this meeting they shall

deal first with sacred matters; then they shall lay before it any complaints lodged concerning the procession or the contests at the Dionysia that have not been satisfied. (Dem. *Meid.* 8)

This law and Demosthenes' rhetorical strategy cohere, and we ought to accept that most people most of the time did not regard processions and contests as sacred in the way that sacrifices and prayers were. No doubt the ritual components of processions would count as sacred—basket-bearers, priests, sacrificial victim, and so on—but the tail of the procession, which will have amounted to a lengthy parade at the sorts of festivals to which the 'festival offence' was applicable, was evidently not thought of as sacred, and comprehensibly so.

Let us look more closely at the second passage (*Meid.* 54–5), noting first that Demosthenes clearly does not regard the notion that sacrifices and choruses are equally sacred as self-evident to the jurors. The case has to be made, he has to bring them round to thinking of things this way, and so he has various oracles instituting cult and choruses read out, and even after they have been read engages again in careful bracketing: not only is sacrifice commanded, but there is the 'additional injunction' to institute choruses. The oracles quoted do not refer to the kind of chorus one encounters in the dithyrambic and dramatic competitions at Athens,²⁰ and it is perhaps an uncomfortable awareness of this that leads Demosthenes immediately to qualify his claim and shift his ground: it is clear, he says, that the choruses and *choregi*, during the days in which they come together for the festival—we expect him to say 'are sacred', but he in fact says 'are crowned *on your behalf*', shifting from a religious to a political ground for their inviolability, a political ground that he has emphasized elsewhere by assimilating *choregi* to magistrates. The competitive aspect of the choral competition then also produces an awkward shift and a special plea: not only the eventual winner but even he who comes last is acting on behalf of the polis, as though he expects that jurors might think of the winner alone as meriting special consideration as a representative of the polis, as though he had to say 'look here, you really ought to take the crowns that are bought and worn by all the many hundreds of us who are involved in the choral contest as seriously as you take that of the victor, as making us your representatives'. This is not evidence that such crowns and such participation in choral contests were understood to convey sacral

status, but evidence that they might at a stretch be represented as conveying some kind of political status, which one might in turn, as the context is that of a festival of Dionysus, venture to convince people had some religious significance too. And that is precisely what Demosthenes ventures at the end of the passage, mentioning the festival context and the god himself and thus bringing this slippery line of argument to the tellingly phrased close 'will we say anything other than that this man commits impiety?', as though we were driven to this conclusion by irresistible logic rather than by a process of associative insinuation.

I may seem to press these passages rather hard, but let me make three points about this. The first is that Demosthenes is a highly competent advocate, and that we can therefore assume that he is not elaborating a point which it would not have occurred to anyone to doubt. The second point is that the arguments I have been making about these passages cohere with a very striking pattern in Demosthenes' use of terms. He speaks exclusively at first and routinely throughout, a total of ten times (1, 9, 11, 19, 26, 28, 175, 178, 180, 214 [cf. 34]), of 'injustice' at the festival, of *ἀδικεῖν* the verb or *ἀδικήματα* the noun 'concerning the festival', *περὶ τὴν ἑορτήν*, including in chapters 178 and 180, where he is summarizing other indictments on 'festival offences'. This will be the technical phrase applied to such charges in Athens. In chapters 51 and 55, the two passages we have looked at closely where he is trying to push the notion that Meidias has committed a religious crime, he speaks of *ἀσέβεια*, and he makes two further attempts to push his own tendentious definition at the end of the speech, where for the first time he varies the technical phrase and speaks of *ἀσεβεῖν/ἀσεβῶν περὶ τὴν ἑορτήν* (199, 227).²¹ As the speech ends Demosthenes transposes the language of festival offence into that of impiety and casts the imputation of impiety at Meidias in the hope that it will stick. The third point is that Demosthenes is concerned throughout (and especially in chapters 25–8) to convince the jurors that he was justified in indicting Meidias on a 'festival offence' rather than on a *γραφὴ ὕβρεως* (a public charge of *hybris*) or a *δίκη ἰδία* (private suit)—*not* rather than on a charge of impiety, which of course existed as a category of offence and was subject to the most severe penalties.²² The notion that an actual indictment for impiety might have been appropriate is nowhere canvassed by Demosthenes, who evidently regards it as sufficiently venturesome to suggest that a 'festival offence' is an impious thing.

It would not be implausible to suggest that the (or an) original justification for the special category of ‘festival offence’ may have been the notion that any wrongdoing at a festival offends the god, and indeed Demosthenes says (*Meid.* 35) ἔθεσθ’ ἱερὸν νόμον αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερομηνίας, ‘You passed a sacred law in favour of the god himself during the sacred festival period’. That too, though, is clearly a persuasive rather than a straightforward statement—the mention of the god and the use of the relatively uncommon term ἱερομηνία, which unlike ἑορτή or πανήγυρις has the root ἱερο-, ‘sacred’ in it, between them establish a context in which any law relevant to them must seem to be ‘sacred’. The phrase ἱερὸς νόμος is probably not used here in any technical sense—if it ever had such a sense—or, if it is a technical phrase, it is used either persuasively or with reference to some notional ‘original’ enactment. Whatever its original aim, however—and enforcing good order at an important public occasion is a perfectly plausible conjecture—the ‘festival offence’ was not routinely spoken or thought of as an impiety. As I have noted, Demosthenes treats the ‘festival offence’ against him while he was performing his duties as *choregus* as equivalent to an offence against a juror or magistrate, that is a representative of the polis (*Meid.* 31–4), and the ‘festival offence’ existed only for certain festivals, which were the pre-eminent showcases of Athens. Both these considerations suggest that it is the political rather than the cultic context of these festivals that the lawmakers had primarily in view.

Demosthenes is a skilled prosecutor, and he is putting Meidias’ offence in the worst possible light by pressing the definition of ‘festival offence’ beyond its usual sense. Perhaps the most telling illustration in the speech of the persuasive technique he deploys throughout is the way he introduces his discussion of Meidias’ attempt to destroy the costumes and crowns that were being prepared for Demosthenes’ chorus:

τὴν γὰρ ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱεράν (ἱεράν γὰρ ἔγωγε νομίζω πᾶσαν ὅσῃν ἂν τις εἴνεκα τῆς ἑορτῆς παρασκευάζεται, τέως ἂν χρησθῇ) καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς χρυσοὺς, οὓς ἐποίησάμην ἐγὼ κόσμον τῷ χορῷ, ἐπεβούλευσεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διαφθεῖραί μοι νύκτωρ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ χρυσοχόου.

The sacred apparel—for I at least regard as sacred all of the apparel that someone prepares for the sake of the festival, until it has been used—and the golden crowns which I had ordered as ornament for the chorus, he plotted to destroy on me, men of Athens, by coming to the goldsmith’s house in the night. (Dem. *Meid.* 16)

Demosthenes mentions the costumes at the beginning of the sentence and loads their significance in order to enhance the effect of the otherwise rather anticlimactic statement that Meidias merely ‘plotted to destroy’ them: ‘the sacred apparel—for I at least (ἐγὼ γε) regard as sacred all of the apparel that someone prepares for the sake of the festival, until it has been used—and the golden crowns . . . he plotted to destroy’ (*Meid.* 16). ‘I, at least’, as though to say ‘you may disagree if you wish to think of yourself as insufficiently pious’. It is all highly effective rhetoric, but still it is clear what Demosthenes is up to.²³

CHOREGIA IN THE ORATORS

A number of passages from the orators cohere with what looks like the pretty clear implication of *Meidias* that ordinary Athenians did not normally think of the *choregia* as a sacred duty. I say ‘cohere’ advisedly, as none of these passages is in itself positive evidence for my thesis. It is, rather, their cumulative effect, the regularity with which the *choregia* is spoken of in them in purely secular terms and, above all, the absence from all of them of religious language, that constitutes strong and consistent support for the view of *Meidias* that I have been putting forward, and which is also maintained by MacDowell in his edition of the speech and by Wilson.²⁴

It is well known that the orators and other sources constantly speak of the *choregia* in terms of elite competition and of splendid and/or extravagant expenditure, of *φιλοτιμία* and *φιλονικία*.²⁵ Less commonly noted is that they do not speak of the institution in religious terms. For our purposes, what the following typical passages do not say is as important as what they do say. Several writers speak of the great expense to which *choregi* put themselves:

εἰ δὲ καὶ ἅθλα τις δύναιτο προτιθέναι ταῖς φυλαῖς πάντων ὅποσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκέεισθαι ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππικου, τοῦτο πάντας οἶμαι Ἀθηναίους γε μάλιστ’ ἂν προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονικίαν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς, ὥς μικρῶν ἄθλων ἔνεκεν πολλοὶ μὲν πόνοι, μεγάλαί δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται.

And if prizes could be offered to the tribes for all the impressive manoeuvres that the cavalry are expected to perform at the spectacles, this I think would greatly promote the competitiveness of all Athenians.

One can see this clearly in connection with the choruses, how for the sake of small prizes endless labour and great expenses are undertaken. (Xen. *Eq. mag.* 1.26)

Xenophon speaks elsewhere in the same work (3.2) of processions that would be pleasing 'to the gods and to the spectators [*θεαταῖς*]', and is in general one of the most scrupulously pious of ancient writers, so that his classification of the choruses as a species of spectacle—and the fact that he does not use sacral language—is striking.

Aeschines *In Ctes.* 240 says *σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς*, 'But you are a rich man, and serve as *choregus* to your own pleasures', and this and a number of other passages exemplify the semantic development of the verb *χορηγεῖν* into a standard metaphor for extravagant indulgence, which is an index of the degree to which elite competition was central to Athenian perception of the institution.²⁶ One asks oneself why such extravagance is never represented in our evidence as outstanding liberality in the service of the god.

A fascinating passage of Lycurgus takes this focus on the expenditure of the rich to new lengths:

καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν οὐκέτι τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς παρακρούσασθαι ζητοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη ταῖς αὐτῶν λητουργίαις ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τοὺς κρινομένους ἀξιόσουςιν: ἐφ' οἷς ἔγωγε καὶ μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῶ. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὐτὰς περιποιησάμενοι, κοινὰς χάριτας ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις ἵπποτρόφηκεν ἢ κεχορήγηκε λαμπρῶς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τι δεδαπάνηκεν, ἅξιός ἐστι παρ' ὑμῶν τοιαύτης χάριτος, ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ αὐτὸς μόνος στεφανοῦται, τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν ὠφελῶν, ἀλλ' εἴ τις τετριτάρχηκε λαμπρῶς ἢ τείχη τῇ πατρίδι περιέβαλεν ἢ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων συνευπόρησε: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστι κοινῶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν μόνον τῶν δεδαπανηκότων.

And yet some of them are no longer trying to deceive you with arguments; rather they will soon claim, on the basis of their own liturgies, that the defendants should be acquitted. With these I for my part am specially irritated. For having taken on the liturgies to advance the private interests of their own families, they now demand a public return of thanks. Now someone is worthy of such gratitude from you not if he has bred horses, or performed a *choregia* splendidly, or spent his money on some other such thing, since in return for these expenditures he himself is alone crowned, not benefiting others at all, but rather if he has

performed splendidly as trierarch, or built walls for his fatherland, or contributed from his private resources towards public safety, for these are public services that benefit all of you and that demonstrate the loyalty of the contributors, while the others demonstrate nothing but the wealth of the spenders. (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 139–40)

Here splendid performance of liturgies (the Greek word is *λαμπρῶς*, a key term of elite display²⁷) is straightforwardly presented as redounding to the glory only of the liturgist's own family, and his crowning as an entirely personal distinction that conveys no benefit on the community. It is contrasted in this respect with the trierarchy and other means of benefiting all—essentially the same contrast as we have seen Demosthenes making. The implication that these are matters of no interest to the community as a whole would surely be remarkable if the performance of liturgies was commonly conceived as a religious benefit conferred on the whole city.

In Isocrates the frivolity of parades and *choregiai* comes in for sharp rebuke:

τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀσφαλείας διῆγον, ὥστε καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν μὴδ' εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν, ἀλλ' αἰρεῖσθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίους ἀγαθοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολαύειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὰς θεωρίας, ὧν ἔνεκ' ἂν τις ἦλθεν, ἀσελγῶς οὐδ' ὑπερηφάνως ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχόντως ἐποιοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πομπῶν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς χορηγίας φιλονεικιῶν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀλαζονειῶν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σωφρόνως οἰκεῖν καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορεῖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

And so, because of these things, [our ancestors] lived amidst such safety that dwellings and properties in the country were more splendid and expensive than those within the city-wall, and many citizens never came into the city even for the festivals, but chose to remain at home enjoying their private goods rather than to take pleasure in the public activities. For even public spectacles, which one might have come to see, they used to conduct not extravagantly or ostentatiously, but with moderation, for they did not then reckon their prosperity by their parades or by contention in the *choregiai*, or by empty shows of that sort, but by the good sense of their government and their daily life, and the fact that none of their citizens lacked necessities of life. (Isoc. *Areopag.* 52–53)

This is of course a golden-age myth like Plato's, but the terms are telling: the good old rural population tended to avoid the urban

festivals, and even this older and preferable tendency is spoken of as disinclination to ‘take pleasure [ἀπολαύειν] in the public activities’. Here again the attitude to the nature of festivals much more closely resembles that of Democritus and of the Thucydidean and Plutarchan Pericles than that of many modern scholars. A conservative griping about Athenian festivals shares his view of their essential nature with liberals who praise them. Let us note that those who, for example, provide sacrifices are never spoken of in similar terms, as engaged in ἀλαζονεΐαι, ‘empty shows’, nor for example as squandering their money on hecatombs for the gods. In another speech, Isocrates can write for his litigant a positive presentation of the same liturgical lavishness, but here as in the other passage—and as in oratory in general when the sort of special pleading we have encountered in *Meidias* is not in play—there is no attempt whatsoever to depict the liturgy as a religious benefit to the city or an act of personal piety:

ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν μαρτυρήσειαν Σίφνιοι τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρώτους εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν. τίνες γὰρ ἢ μειζόνων ἀρχῶν ἡξιώθησαν ἢ πλείῳ χρήματ' εἰσήμεναν ἢ κάλλιον ἐχορήγησαν ἢ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον τὰς ἄλλας λητουργίας ἐλητούργησαν;

But all the Siphnians would attest that my ancestors were first among the citizens in birth, wealth, reputation, and all other respects. For who were thought worthy of higher offices, or contributed more money, or performed *choregiai* more splendidly, or executed other liturgies more magnificently? (Isoc. 19.36)

Isocrates in the *Areopagiticus* disdained liturgists as entirely self-serving; other orators rarely go so far, but they do often unselfconsciously represent the benefit of a successful liturgy as accruing primarily to the liturgists themselves. A passage of Isaeus is remarkable in this respect:

καίτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι οἱ ταῦτα κτησάμενοι καὶ καταλιπόντες πάσας μὲν χορηγίας ἐχορήγησαν, εἰσήμεναν δὲ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα πολλὰ ὑμῖν, καὶ τριηραρχοῦντες οὐδένα χρόνον διέλιπον. καὶ τούτων μαρτύρια ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήματα ἐκείνοι ἐκ τῶν περιόντων, μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, ἀνέθεσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Διονύσου τρίποδας, οὓς χορηγοῦντες καὶ νικῶντες ἔλαβον, τοῦτο δ' ἐν Πυθίῳ.

And yet, gentlemen, our ancestors, who acquired this property and left it to us, performed all the *choregiai*, contributed large sums to you for war, and never ceased acting as trierarchs. As testimonies of all these

services, out of the wealth that was left over they dedicated in sanctuaries, as memorials of their own excellence: tripods in the sanctuary of Dionysus as victorious *choregi*, other dedications in the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo. (Isae. 5.41)

Here we find the victory tripods 'dedicated' or 'set up' in the sanctuary of the god at whose festival the victory was won, but we note that they are 'memorials of their own excellence', which corresponds to the fact that choregic tripods, unlike many other kinds of dedication, say nothing explicit about the god.

We should turn for a moment to these tripod-monuments erected by successful *choregi* (IG I³ 957–62, IG II² 3027–62), as they might be regarded as counter-evidence from another, but cognate, realm of civic discourse. As counter-evidence they are really quite weak, and are indeed readily reconcilable with the general argument that I have been making. As Wilson has noted,²⁸ almost all of these monuments, most of which are from the fourth century and highly stereotyped in their formulation, are devoid of religious language other than the verb *ἀνέθηκε*, 'dedicated' used of the successful *choregus* who has caused the tripod to be set up in or near the sanctuary of the god. Those who are inclined to favour the view that *choregia* is a religious undertaking may point to this word as sacral language, but the sanctuaries where the festivals were held are the obvious places for dedications (though of course in Athens these soon spread along the Road of the Tripods that ran round the eastern end of the Acropolis, well outside the sanctuary of Dionysus) and no monument erected in or in connection with a sanctuary could be said to be anything other than 'dedicated'. It is perfectly possible, therefore, to regard this as a technical term that has little or no significance for our question. It is not so much perhaps an alternative discourse about *choregia* as a parallel for the recession of sacral significance from a notionally or originally sacred thing. In any case, such language cannot outweigh the other evidence we have been considering.

There is a comparable passage of Isaeus involving tripod-monuments:

...τίνα λειτουργίαν οὐκ ἐξελητούργησεν; ἢ τίνα εἰσφορὰν οὐκ ἐν πρώτοις εἰσῆνεγκεν; ἢ τί παραλείπειν ὧν προσῆκεν; ὅς γε καὶ παιδικῶ χορῶ χορηγῶν ἐνίκησεν, ὧν μνημεῖα τῆς ἐκείνου φιλοτιμίας ὁ τρίπους ἐκεῖνος ἔστηκε.

What liturgy did he fail thoroughly to perform? To what war-tax was he not among the first to contribute? What duty has he ever failed to perform?

He who was victorious as *choregus* with a chorus of boys, and that tripod he won stands as a memorial of his ambition [*φιλοτιμία*]. (Isae. 7.40)

We must not press this sort of evidence too hard, but the mention of the memorialization of the *choregus'* *φιλοτιμία* here is verbally reminiscent of the previous passage and such was very likely the primary impression people had of the point of such dedications. This is not of course positive evidence for our thesis but is reconcilable with it.

Other passages show us, as it were, the other side of the coin, focusing on the polis as beneficiary of the *choregia*. This rather different emphasis is not surprising, and will no doubt often or always have been the result of political or forensic calculation. What is striking for our purposes is that the focus is very much on entertainment of the people rather than on service of the god, which is never mentioned in this sort of context. Lysias makes it clear that the *choregia* might bring with it—or might be represented as undertaken with a view to winning—the good opinion of the citizens:

καίτοι διὰ τοῦτο πλείω τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως προσταττομένων ἔδαπανώμην, ἵνα καὶ βελτίων ὑφ' ὑμῶν νομιζοίμην, καὶ εἴ ποῦ μοί τις συμφορὰ γένοιτο, ἄμεινον ἀγωνιζοίμην.

Yet it was for this reason that I spent more than was required by the city, that I might be held by you in higher esteem and that if any misfortune should somehow befall me I might the better defend myself. (Lys. 25.13)

Comparable passages place the emphasis squarely on service to the people, but invariably to them alone rather than to the people in tandem with the gods:

ἵνα μὲν ἐξῇν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι ἡδίκουν ἐγὼ τὴν πόλιν ἢ ἐν χορηγίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τισίν, ἀποφύνασι καὶ ἐξελέγξασιν ἄνδρα τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οἶός τε ἐγένετο αὐτῶν οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα ἐξελέγξαι ἀδικοῦντα τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον.

When they could—by exposing and convicting me of any injustice I had done the city, whether in a *choregia* or in any other way—could both take vengeance on an enemy and benefit the city, none of them was ever able to prove that I had done your people any injustice, small or great. (Antiph. 6.9)

καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον [sc. προστάττει ὁ νομοθέτης] περὶ τῆς συμφοιτήσεως τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν χορῶν τῶν κυκλίων. κελεύει γὰρ τὸν χορηγὸν τὸν μέλλοντα τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναλίσκειν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα

ἔτη γεγονότα τοῦτο πράττειν, ἢν' ἤδη ἐν τῇ σωφρονεστάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίᾳ ὦν, οὕτως ἐντυγχάνῃ τοῖς ὑμετέροις παισίν.

[The lawgiver regulates,] finally, the boys' companionships at school, and the circular choruses. For he prescribes that the choregus, a man who will spend his own money for you, must be more than forty years of age to do so, in order that he may already have reached the most moderate stage of his life when he comes into contact with your sons. (Aeschin. *In Tim.* 10–11)

In a passage of Demosthenes we have the focus on the benefit to the citizens alongside reference to the dedicated tripod, but we may conclude again that the tripod, which is, as so often, regarded as a monument to the choregus' own glory, does not introduce any religious significance:

καίτοι ὁ μὲν ἐμὸς πατὴρ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα μνῶν μόνων ἐκατέρω, ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὴν οὐσίαν κατέλιπεν, ἀφ' ἧς ζῆν οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστιν: οἱ δὲ σοὶ πατέρες τοσούτων ἦσαν κύριοι χρημάτων, ὥσθ' ἐκατέρου τρίπους ἀνάκειται, νικησάντων αὐτῶν Διονύσια χορηγούντων. καὶ οὐ φθονῶ: δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐπόρους χρησίμους αὐτοὺς παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις.

Yet my father left to each of us, to me and to my brother, an estate of only forty-five *mnai*, which it is not easy to live on, but your fathers controlled such great wealth that a tripod won by each—they had been victorious as *choregi* at the Dionysia—has been dedicated. And I do not begrudge this, for the wealthy ought to make themselves useful to the citizens. (Dem. 42.22)

The language in which performance of the choregia is described is noteworthy for a marked absence of sacral terminology, and this coheres with the evidence of *Meidias* that such terminology must be smuggled in where it is not generally felt to be appropriate. Consider a passage in which Antiphon addresses jurors:

ἐγὼ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐπίσταμαι τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην, ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν καταψηφίσαισθε οὐτ' ἂν ἀποψηφίσαισθε ἐτέρου τινὸς ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος: ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν. ἐπειδὴ χορηγὸς κατεστάθην εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ ἔλαχον Παντακλέα διδάσκαλον καὶ Κεκροπίδα φυλὴν πρὸς τῇ ἑμαντοῦ, [τουτέστι τῇ Ερεχθίδι,] ἐχορήγουν ὡς ἄριστα ἐδυνάμην καὶ δικαιοῦτατα.

I myself know pretty well how you are minded, that you would neither condemn nor acquit on any basis other than the facts of the matter, for this is both the just and the pious way to behave. With the facts, then, I will begin. When I was appointed choregus for the Thargelia and was

assigned Pantacles as poet and the Cecropid tribe in addition to my own [that is to say the Erechtheid], I performed the choregia as well and as justly as I could. (Antiph. 6.10–11)

We note the contrast here: jurors can fulfill their sworn duty in a ‘pious’ (ῥσια) way, but, though it would be attractive in the context to say the same of Antiphon’s performance of his choregic duty, the sacral term is not in fact employed.

A not dissimilar effect is found in a passage of Aeschines:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν κριταὶ καθεστηκότες, ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδ’ ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε;

If the judges at the Dionysia are not just in their judgement of the circular choruses, you punish them. You yourselves, however, who are appointed as judges not of circular choruses but of laws and of public virtue, will you bestow your gifts, not according to the laws, nor upon the few and deserving, but upon the person who schemes for them? (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 232)

Here the judges of circular choruses are to behave justly—but of course they are engaged in a much less serious enterprise than those who must make judgements about laws and political integrity. This takes us back to Demosthenes’ and others’ belittling representation of choral sponsorship as frivolous in comparison with the meeting of military exigencies. As so often elsewhere, *choregic* activity—and here the circular chorus itself—is seen as a matter of no special importance to the city. At *Politics* 1309a 18–21, Aristotle says straightforwardly that ‘it is better to prevent even those who want to do it from undertaking expensive but *useless* liturgies such as *choregiai* and the sponsorship of torch-races and all other liturgies of that sort’ (my emphasis: βέλτιον δὲ καὶ βουλομένους κωλύειν λειτουργεῖν τὰς δαπανηρὰς μὲν μὴ χρησίμους δὲ λειτουργίας, οἷον χορηγίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται).

THE LAW OF LEPTINES

It is hard to believe that behind all the passages we have been looking at there lurks a sense that the sponsorship of festival choruses is a

religious enterprise, that is a transaction with a god and therefore an undertaking on which the prosperity of the city to some significant degree depends. As I said at the outset, the cumulative effect of all these texts is surely quite strong.²⁹ Some readers will perhaps still be unconvinced, but I have saved the best evidence for last.

Let us turn finally, then, to Demosthenes' speech *Against Leptines*. In his (1997) article, Peter Wilson juxtaposed one brief passage of this text—and not, for our purposes, the most telling passage—with the argument of *Meidias*. It will be helpful to have the whole of the relevant passage before us. Demosthenes is anticipating arguments that will be made by advocates of Leptines' law, which would end the exemptions from the performance of liturgies that had been granted to various individuals over the years:

ὃν τοίνυν κακουργότατον οἶονται λόγον εὐρηκέναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἀτελείας ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι πείσαι, βέλτιόν ἐστι προειπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθῃτ' ἐξαπατηθέντες. ἐροῦς' ὅτι ταυθ' ἱερῶν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ ναλῶματα [αἱ χορηγίαι καὶ αἱ γυμνασιαρχίαι]: δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀτελῆς τις ἀφεθήσεται.

ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔστι ταυτὸν ἱερῶν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν καὶ λητουργιῶν, ἀλλ' οὗτοι τὸ τῶν λητουργιῶν ὄνομ' ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταφέροντες ἐξαπατᾶν ζητοῦσι, Λεπτίνην ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγὼ παρασχέσομαι μάρτυρα. [127] γράφων γὰρ ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου 'Λεπτίνης εἶπεν' φησίν, 'ὅπως ἂν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι λητουργῶσιν, ἀτελῆ μηδέ' εἶναι πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.' καίτοι εἰ ἦν ἱερῶν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν ταυτὸ καὶ λητουργιῶν, τί τοῦτο μαθὼν προσέγραψεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτοις ἀτέλεια τῶν γ' ἱερῶν ἐστὶν δεδομένη. ἵνα δ' εἰδῇθ' ὅτι ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, λαβέμοι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς στήλης ἀντίγραφα, εἴτα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Λεπτίνου. λέγε.

Ἀντίγραφα Στήλης

[128] ἀκούετε τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῆς στήλης, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κελευόντων πλὴν ἱερῶν. λέγε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Λεπτίνου.

Νόμος

καλῶς: κατάθες. γράψας 'ὅπως ἂν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι λητουργῶσι,' μηδέ' εἶναι' προσέγραψεν 'ἀτελῆ πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.' τίνος ἔνεκα, εἴ γε τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τέλος ἐστὶ λητουργεῖν; αὐτὸς γὰρ οὕτως ἂν ἀναντία τῇ στήλῃ γεγραφώς, ἂν τοῦτο λέγῃ, φανήσεται. [129] ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἐγωγ' ἐροίμην Λεπτίνην: τίνος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἢ σὺ νῦν καταλείπεις φήσεις ἢ ἐκείνους τότε δοῦναι, τὰς λητουργίας ὅταν εἶναι φῆς ἱερῶν; τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πασῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τριηραρχιῶν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων οὐκ εἶς' ἀτελεῖς: τῶν δὲ λητουργιῶν,

εἴπερ εἴς' ἱερῶν, οὐδ' ἔχουσιν. [130] ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγραπται γ' ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι. τίνος; ἢ τοῦ μετοικίου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπόν. οὐ δῆπου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων λητουργιών, ὡς ἢ τε στήλη δηλοῖ καὶ σὺ προσδιώρισας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνος γεγωνός, ἐν ᾧ τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντι οὔτε φυλὴ πώποτ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεμί' οὐδένα τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων χορηγόν, οὔτ' ἐνεχθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀντιδούναι. οἷς οὐκ ἀκουστέον ἂν ἐναντία τολμᾷ λέγειν.

The most mischievous argument, so they think, that they have invented to persuade you to withdraw the exemptions I had better discuss in advance lest you be deceived unknowingly. They will say that all such payments are for sacral things [τὰ ἱερά], and that it is terrible if anyone is to be exempt from payment for sacral things.

That it is not the same to have exemption from sacral things and exemption from liturgies, but that these people are trying to deceive you by transferring the name of liturgies to sacral things, I shall offer you Leptines himself as witness. [127] For at the beginning of the law he writes 'Leptines proposed, in order that the wealthiest citizens perform the liturgies, that no one be exempt except descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton'. And yet if having exemption from sacral things is the same as having exemption from liturgies, on what basis did he add that clause? For even to those descendants exemption from *sacral* things has never been given. So that you know that this is so, please read out the copy of the inscription and then the beginning of the law of Leptines.

Copy of Inscription

[128] You hear the copy of the inscription, gentlemen, ordering that they be exempt, except from sacral things. Read the beginning of the law of Leptines.

Law

Good: stop. Having written 'in order that the wealthiest citizens perform the liturgies', he added 'that no one be exempt except descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton'. Why did he do that, if payment for sacral things is equivalent to performance of a liturgy? For if this is what he means, it will be clear that in writing this he has contradicted the inscription. [129] I should like to ask Leptines: what will you say the exemption was from—the exemption which you now leave unabrogated for these people or which they originally gave them—if you say that liturgies are to be classed among sacral matters? For by the old laws they are not exempt from all the war-taxes or from trierarchies; nor are they exempt from liturgies, if liturgies are indeed to be classed among sacral matters. [130] And yet it is written there that they are immune. From what? Is it from the tax on resident aliens, since that's what's left? Of course not, but from the periodical liturgies, as the inscription makes

clear, as you specified further in your law, and as the precedent of past time testifies, in the whole great length of which no tribe has ever dared to nominate anyone among those descendants as choregus, and no other nominee has ever dared to challenge them to an exchange of property. If he dares to say the opposite, don't listen to it. (Dem. *Lept.* 125, 126–130)

This argument, unlike that of *Meidias*, has to do not with popular assumptions, which are vague and shifting things, but with the verbal implications and conceptual integrity of laws. Unless we decide that Demosthenes is misrepresenting the texts he causes to be read out before the court, which seems in the highest degree unlikely, we are obliged to conclude that his argument about the coherence of the two texts must be sound, and if that is so we have here very firm evidence indeed for a distinction between the *choregia* and religious duty, a distinction that is also a native Greek example of a functional distinction between sacred and secular—or whatever we want to call the non-sacred realm. The very fact that Demosthenes can raise the matter in these terms before a jury of Athenian citizens means that such a distinction was possible. This is completely congruent with the law cited in *Meidias* which we discussed earlier and which distinguished matters relating to non-ritual components of festivals from 'sacred matters'. Why resist such clear and compelling evidence?

CONCLUSIONS

We can legitimately conclude that activity at a festival that was not in a strict sense ritual, though it might just be made to pass for sacred activity in the fraught and censorious atmosphere of a court, was not normally felt to be so. Thus when Demosthenes complains that the military magistrates are squandering their time on processions we ought to conclude that disrespect of the gods is not at issue. The Athenians were famous for their processions and were presumably conscious that they elaborated them well beyond what was necessary from a strictly ritual point of view. In the well-known passage that begins the *Republic*, Socrates describes going down to the Piraeus 'to pray to the goddess, and at the same time wishing to see how they would conduct the festival, since they were putting it on for the first

time. The procession of the citizens seemed to me very fine, but that put on by the Thracians appeared no less impressive. Having prayed and watched the spectacle we left for town.' (Pl. *Resp.* 327a–b). The natural reading of this is that prayer and parade are on different levels. No doubt Plato was keen to include the prayer in order to counter the notion that Socrates was not conventionally pious, which representing him as watching the parade would not in itself do. Presumably one could represent anything done at a festival as in some sense done 'for the god', but the non-ritual components even of the festival procession seem generally to have been experienced as non-sacral, and the same seems to be true of the *choregia*.

I point finally to two implications of these conclusions. The first is that we ought to explore the issue of the balance of sacred and secular components in Greek festivals rather than to assume, consciously or unconsciously, that this is not a real or not an interesting issue. The question is important, and careful study of it can only sharpen our understanding of the complex relationships between festivals and their social, political, cultural and religious contexts. It seems to me, secondly, that this study of the status of *choregia* supports, on the basis of a quite different body of evidence, the argument I have made elsewhere,³⁰ largely on the internal evidence of the plays, that drama was not in Classical Athens regarded as a form of religious ritual. I hope at any rate to have made out a convincing case that these are legitimate and fascinating questions that require and seem likely to repay serious attention.

NOTES

1. All translations of Greek passages are my own.
2. Wilson (1997), 89.
3. Ibid.
4. Scullion (2002; 2005b; 2007, 201–3), with three of the texts quoted in what follows.
5. Equally telling in its own way is Isoc. *Paneg.* 43–6: having mentioned prayers and sacrifices at festivals in ch. 43, Isocrates goes on in 44–6 to talk about the value of festival contests both at some length and in entirely non-religious terms. Cf. also, from a later period, Ath. 363d–364e.
6. Scullion (2005b), 112–19.
7. See Scullion (2002), 125–9.

8. Wilson (2000), 314 n. 22, cf. 322 n. 115, but Wilson (2007), 164–75, takes a different (and to my mind preferable) approach.
9. Fearn (2007), 188.
10. Fearn (2007), 189.
11. Fearn (2007), 192.
12. See Scullion (2002), 127–9; (2005a), 26–7. I suspect that the terms ‘dithyramb’ and ‘circular chorus’ became functionally equivalent (for evidence—esp. *Ar. Av.* 1377–1409 with the scholion on 1403a—suggestive of equivalence, but admittedly not conclusive in itself and taken differently by Fearn, see Fearn (2007), 165–6; Wilson (2007), 164–8), and that this is why songs of Bacchylides that were performed in non-Dionysiac contexts could be classified by the Alexandrians as dithyrambs. There is also the evidence of *SEG* 9.13, an inscription in Cyrene of the later fourth century BC recently discussed by Ceccarelli and Milanezi (2007), 195–9, which mentions a ‘dithyrambic chorus’ that was almost certainly performed at the festival of a god other than Dionysus, perhaps Apollo, Athena, or Artemis. It is no doubt safer, however, to follow Fearn in treating *kuklioi choroi* as the umbrella term for narrative song performed across the full range of Athenian festival contexts and, because ‘dithyramb’ could (at least in some contexts) retain specifically Dionysiac associations, to follow the contemporary sources in calling the choruses performed in non-Dionysiac (as well as Dionysiac) contexts ‘circular choruses’ rather than ‘dithyrambs’; cf. Wilson (2007), 167–9.
13. Fearn (2007), 184.
14. Fearn (2007), 185.
15. Cf. Wilson (2007), 164–5.
16. Cf. Lycurg. *Leoc.* 51, perhaps referring only to athletes.
17. 21.10, 175: see MacDowell (1990), 14.
18. This is also the conclusion of MacDowell (1990), 16–18; Wilson (1997), 87–8, and Wilson (2000), 160.
19. See MacDowell (1990), 226–7.
20. See MacDowell (1990), 270–1 (introductory note on ch. 52), 273 (introductory note on ch. 53), 274 sub fin. (on the second oracle from Dodona).
21. MacDowell (1990), 18, also observes that Demosthenes ‘by using, towards the end of the speech, the expression ἀσεβείν περὶ τὴν ἑορτήν . . . blurs the distinction’ between the ‘festival offence’ and *asebeia*.
22. See MacDowell (1990), 16; *contra* Harrison (1971), 62–3, who argued that if Demosthenes had proceeded to a full trial it would have been on a *γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*.
23. Wilson (2000), 160–1, interprets this passage in much the same way. I have nothing new to say about the murky issue of whether and why

Demosthenes chose not to proceed to trial against Meidias, on which see MacDowell (1990), 23–8. One can toy with the idea, but certainly cannot regard as a legitimate argument in favour of the present thesis, that if Demosthenes did not in fact proceed to trial one of the things that held him back or inclined him to accept an out-of-court settlement was misgiving about whether the implication that Meidias had behaved impiously would stick.

24. See n. 18.
25. See Wilson (2000), 144–97.
26. Aeschin. *De Falsa Leg.* 79, *In Tim.* 54; LSJ s.v. II.2. Cf. Wilson (2000), 71, with 337 n. 94, 177.
27. See Wilson (2000), 138–40, with 354 n. 102.
28. Wilson (2000), 121, 202.
29. Of the fifty passages from the orators collected by Wilson (2000), 360 nn. 80–1, in which speakers either claim credit for their performance of liturgies or deprecate the performance of others, none speaks of the office in religious terms with the exception of Dem. *Meid.* 61, which does so indirectly and by the same sort of persuasive technique that we have observed elsewhere in the speech.
30. Above all in Scullion (2002).

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Appended Festivals

The Coordination and Combination of Traditional Civic and Ruler Cult Festivals in the Hellenistic and Roman East

Kostas Buraselis

INTRODUCTION

The seminal article by Nock on *Synnaos Theos* (1930) may still be seen as a landmark in the study of the combination of traditional cults in the ancient Greek cities with those devoted to new deities of political provenance, i.e. the deified rulers of the Hellenistic and Roman world. Useful even today, Nock's careful work helps illustrate the importance of sharing the same temple or other sacred precinct, and eventually ritual, between old and new gods, as it provided the new gods with a clear position not just beside, but *inside* the ancestral religion of the Greek polis. Evidence published later has only accentuated the importance of this phenomenon. A parallel aspect of the same relation was only peripherally touched upon by Nock and has as yet never been studied systematically: not just the coexistence in place, but the specific *connection* of cultic honours for traditional poliad deities and deified rulers inside the framework of ancient festivals.¹ That connection has assumed the form of a coordination or even closer combination of these honours.

I wish to thank Christopher J. Smith for a revision of my original English text. Of course, I am solely responsible for the final result.

Festivals devoted to more than one deity have always existed in the Greek world, such as the Panionic Delia to honour the holy trinity of Delos (Apollo, Leto and Artemis)² or the common festival of the Aeginetans for the old Epidaurian deities Damia and Auxesia.³ However, it was a novelty of post-Alexandrian times to organize such a festival by not only combining honours for, but also naming the festival after both a traditional god of a certain polis (or league) and a deified ruler. As we may easily understand, this was not merely to allot the new gods a place in an already sacred local context, but to insert them dynamically and on a demonstratively parallel footing into the pattern of polis religion. In this article I will collect and analyse these cases in a combined chronological and geographical order (proceeding from the area of Greece to Asia Minor), so as to achieve an initial systematization of these festivals and draw some general conclusions based on their examination. I have mainly focused on the material that is relevant for the beginning of such additional or—to be more precise—appended festivals during the Hellenistic period, limiting myself to a mere adumbration of their further development during the Roman Empire, the equally detailed examination of which would have certainly exceeded the scope of this study.

APPENDED FESTIVALS FOR THE ANTIGONIDS

As with Hellenistic kingship or contemporaneous ruler cult in general, the first example of the festivals in question appears with the Antigonids, more precisely with Demetrius Poliorcetes' second phase of rule and activity on the European side of the Aegean after the Battle of Ipsus in 301 BC. Among the various honours heaped upon Demetrius in Athens after his regaining control over the city in 294 BC was the institution of a new festival under his name: Demetrieia, according to a fragment of Duris and Plutarch's *Life of the Macedonian*.⁴ Plutarch adds that this was the old, well-known festival of the Dionysia renamed to fit the new situation. However, a new fragment of the Athenian decree for Philippides (*IG II² 649*), dated to 292 BC, gave us for the first time the exact title of the new festival: it was neither simply Dionysia nor just Demetrieia (Plutarch's source or his understanding of it must have been wrong), but a combination of both:

‘Dionysia in the city and Demetrieia’ (with their dramatic contests).⁵ Thus, the amplified name of the festival stated an actual cultic partnership between Dionysus and the deified Macedonian king now appended to the civic god’s presence.

Unfortunately, we do not possess any other source for this early combination, which cannot in any case have survived Demetrius’ loss of control over Athens in 288 BC. Should we assume, as Segre once supposed, that this was a joint festival of two distinct parts, i.e. that the Athenians appended not only the deified ruler’s adjectival title to that of Dionysus, but also one or more days, specifically termed ‘Demetrieia’, to the pre-existing duration of the festival?⁶ Or was it possibly—as Habicht and others preferred, and as the absence of the definite article before the mention of Demetrieia actually seems to suggest—a somewhat prolonged, but otherwise completely common festival for the old and the new deity?⁷ The importance of this dilemma will reappear during the further scrutiny of such examples. Of course, the juxtaposition of god and divine king in this case had an intrinsic value as Demetrius modelled himself after Dionysus and was often connected with that deity.⁸

Another Antigonid case where Dionysia and Demetrieia coexisted and were organizationally correlated is to be found in Euboea, again during Demetrius’ rule in Greece between 294 and 288 BC. The four cities of Euboea (Oreos/Histiaca, Chalcis, Eretria, and Carystus), united in a form of a league under the king’s hegemony, issued a decree⁹ arranging in detail the periodic celebration of distinct festivals named Dionysia and Demetrieia in each of the four constituent cities in turn.¹⁰ Most of the preserved provisions concern the regulation of the dramatic *agones* during the festivals, especially the careful coordination of the series of these local contests in place and time and the relevant obligations of the artists of Dionysus to be engaged in them. It is noteworthy that Dionysia and Demetrieia were in this context always separate, but parts of a unified plan: the Dionysia would take place successively at Carystus, Eretria, Chalcis, and Oreos on specific dates of the year, and the Demetrieia would follow in reverse geographical rotation. Stephanis’ detailed study of this decree¹¹ has advanced the hypothesis that the two respective rounds of festivals were scheduled to take place inside (roughly) the summer period, so that the movement of the artists and their performances would be facilitated. This view, based on the traditional restoration of a crucial

month name in the inscription, has now been put to rest by the observations of Knoepfler.¹²

However, in two cases where the month of the Dionysia is preserved, at Eretria and Chalkis, we know that this was the month of Lenaion, which is almost certainly a month where some festival of Dionysus would have pre-existed in both cities.¹³ The Demetrieia should then be an additional festival, now founded and held in all four cities in honour of Poliorcetes.¹⁴ This view may be bolstered by the remark that at least at Oreos the Demetrieia were to be celebrated in the month of Demetrian, which C. Trümpy convincingly connected with the cult of the Macedonian monarch and not that of Demeter.¹⁵ We should also consider that religious delegates from the other three Euboean poleis attended each of the eight annual local festivals and participated in the concomitant procession and the remaining acts foreseen by 'the Euboean law'.¹⁶ The following overall pattern emerges: under Demetrius' authority and with his instigation (overt or camouflaged), the Euboean League reorganized an already existing system of local Dionysia in the four cities into federal celebrations, which were then closely followed in pattern, place, and form of rotation by a parallel course of four Demetrieia to honour the divine king. Thus, although the Demetrieia most probably leant upon a previous local religious structure, they were not united with the Dionysia. This fact may be attributed to both the considerate treatment of local traditions and possibly also the need to congregate federal representatives more frequently in order to strengthen royal control over the island.¹⁷ The Athenian model presented a functional organizational variant in this context.¹⁸

SELEUCID CASES (ERYTHRAE, ILION, CYME)

Asia Minor presents further such examples in connection with the Seleucids and the Attalids. We have five certain inscriptional sources of a festival named Dionysia and Seleuceia at Erythrae.¹⁹ More precisely, in four of them the name of the festival is given as *ta Dionysia kai ta Seleukeia*, and only once as *ta Dionysia kai Seleukeia*.²⁰ The early date of at least two of them²¹ establishes the connection with Seleucus I, while the later—in the second century BC—appearance of the Dionysia alone in the city²² clearly suggests the previous,

temporary combination of a traditional civic festival with an expression of the local cult honours for Seleucus I. The variation in the name form could be interpreted as a casual inadvertence or, conversely, as signifying a possible development from a form of dynastic festival appended to but distinct from the Dionysia of Erythrae, to a unified festival in which the appended part no longer needed to be distinguished by a second definite article. It is remarkable, however, that both name variants are accompanied by the mention of a common board of *agonothetai* for the two festivals.²³ Thus, at least a common organizational frame ought to have been there from the beginning. Moreover, one should note that the form *ta Dionysia kai Seleukeia* appears in one of the two probably oldest inscriptions.²⁴

A fragmentary decree²⁵ from Ilion presents another basic combination of an already existing local festival with elements of ruler cult. The decree records a series of provisions to establish the cult of Seleucus I or II²⁶ in the city, including not only independent cultic honours for him (sacrifices and *agones*) and further ones for the founder of his house, Apollo, but also very probably an insertion of prayers and sacrifices for the king into a festival of Athena Ilias. We cannot know, however, whether this justified a new double name for the ultimate form of the festival, i.e. after both the main goddess of the city and the deified ruler.

The situation is more explicit in two new sources that have come to light after the recent publication of an important inscription from Cyme in Aeolis, and that concerned both Seleucid and early Attalid practices.²⁷ This new document preserves the dossier of the diplomatic contact between Cyme and Philetaerus of Pergamum at some date, most probably between 280 and 270 BC,²⁸ the only certain *terminus post quem* being offered by the existence in the city of a festival in honour of Antiochus I named Antiocheia. The Cymaeans appear in this dossier to reciprocate an important benefaction from Philetaerus to their community (six hundred bronze-plated shields) by bestowing on him a *new* series of honours (coronation, erection of a statue), which were to be announced by the *agonothetes* at the next *Dionysia kai Antiocheia*.²⁹ As the Dionysia of Cyme appear alone in other inscriptions of the city, probably both before and after the period of the new document,³⁰ we may conclude that this old civic festival had been renamed to accommodate the ancestral veneration of Dionysus, as well as the new cultic honours for Antiochus I. There is no use of a definite article before the mention of Antiocheia and

there is only one *agonothetes* for both Dionysia and Antiocheia, so it looks more probable that we have here a united festival and not two festivals that are in some way distinguishable. The already mentioned later disappearance of the second, appended name for the festival shows again that the dynastic god did not survive later developments in the area and in the Cymaeans' political allegiance.

ATTALID EXAMPLES

Of equal or even greater importance is another such double festival recorded in the same inscription, this time pertaining to the Attalids. The shields donated by the dynast of Pergamum, obviously borne by the citizens to whom they had been distributed, would now be paraded 'when the polis performs the Soteria and the Philetaereia'.³¹ We know nothing else about these Soteria of Cyme; they could be a festival connected either with a local god (Zeus?) or even Antiochus I Soter, who had aptly earned this byname of 'saviour' through his victory over the Galatians in Asia Minor in 275 BC.³² Indeed, as with most festivals of this name in the period, the backdrop was an external/internal menace and the preservation of the city's interests in the face of adversity.³³ What is more important for our present interest is the relation between these Soteria and Philetaereia. Their grammatical conjunction with separate definite articles (*ta Soteria kai ta Philetaireia*) clearly suggests, especially given that the same document did not use separate definite articles in the case of the Dionysia and Antiocheia, two distinct although coordinated or combined festivals, possibly sharing a common procession.³⁴ Thus, the festival in honour of Philetaerus would probably be kept at an officially modest distance from the Soteria dedicated to a relevant civic deity or his superior and deified Seleucid ruler.³⁵ However, in both cases the practice of appending a festival named after a venerated ruler to that of an older/superior deity in a looser or closer connection (and eventual unification) becomes evident.

Cyme is an example that allows further analysis, as we happen to possess further evidence of later, similarly combined festivals there. Another inscription from the city furnishes us with a decree in honour of an Attalid official named Epigonus, a citizen of Taras in Magna Graecia, who received a gold crown from Cyme in return

for some unspecified services to its citizens.³⁶ The honoree's royal sovereign is expressly mentioned as Attalus, and this could be either Attalus I or Attalus II.³⁷ Very probably the same Attalus had already been honoured by the Cymaeans in a way not unfamiliar to us by now: the festival where Epigonus' own honours would be announced appears as *Dionysia kai Attaleia*, in charge of which we again find a single *agonothetes*.³⁸ It seems reasonable to conclude that what had happened with Cyme's Dionysia during the city's dependence on Antiochus I (c.280–270 BC) had now been repeated in the form dictated by a new political allegiance: the label Attaleia was appended to Dionysia, in what was almost certainly a unified festival in honour of both the civic and the new dynastic god of a later Attalid period (around the end of the third or middle of the second century BC).

Another Attalid example offers a slightly (and uniquely) more precise picture of how this festival synthesis might have looked; though we lack its ultimate name, we have further information on the composition of the festival itself. In the famous letter of Eumenes II to the Ionian League³⁹ issued in 167/6 BC, the king, thanking the Ionians for the various and timely honours they presented him, exhibits a shrewd generosity, promising them the funds to improve and extend the traditional festival of the Panionia by adding to it another day named after him. If realized—unfortunately, we have no evidence regarding this—this plan would have created a new and longer version of the festival of the Panionia, one which fittingly could have been named *Panionia kai Eumeneia*, or, if greater precision were deemed necessary, *ta Panionia kai ta Eumeneia*. In such a case, the festival for the king would be appended both in name *and* essence to the traditional festival of the Ionian League. The fact that such a possibility was thought out and recommended in the king's self-interested gesture seems to suggest, however, that in other cases, where a civic community would have to meet the expenses of such honours from its own means, it might suffice to simply append the appropriate name to that of an existing festival.

At any rate, the royal appendix to festivals in honour of traditional gods reappears in a slightly later Attalid context. At Sardis, we encounter a festival named Panathenaia and Eumeneia, which survived until the Augustan period.⁴⁰ Robert's careful analysis of the historical background of this festival has elucidated its inspiration and purpose:⁴¹ the ancient capital of Lydia wished to commemorate Eumenes II's victory over the Galatians (166) under the protection

of the main tutelary deity of Pergamum, Athena Nicephorus, whose cult was thus introduced at Sardis. The festival was a penteteric one, raised to a Panhellenic level after a relevant decree of Delphi. We happen to know that the Attalids, in exactly the same crucial phase of their history (165), instituted the similarly penteteric festival of the Soteria and Heracleia in Pergamum,⁴² where their capital's cult of Asclepius Soter (saviour of the kingdom and possibly Eumenes II during a recent illness) was probably combined with that of Heracles, the construed mythical ancestor of their dynasty.⁴³ Given this information, the Sardian initiative gains much in depth and cleverness. What the reigning king could not do himself at Pergamum was offered to him at Sardis, which thus elevated itself to a second city of Athena Nicephorus and the reigning king, thereby becoming an actual rival to Pergamum in cultic inventiveness and dynastic loyalty. Here the method of attaching the royal festival to a pre-existent civic one was adapted to serve a simultaneous and advantageous transplantation of the main deity of the capital to another city. It is tempting to remark that the appending of Eumenes' festival honours to those of Athena Nicephorus went in parallel with the Sardian aspiration to append their city's importance to that of Pergamum.

ALEXANDREIA AND DIONYSIA ON RHODES

All the above cases of Hellenistic monarchic appendices to traditional festivals resulted in double names, the second part of which referred expressly to the monarch in question (or his house). However, there is also an intriguing example where the order is reversed. On Rhodes we have a series of epigraphic sources for the later Hellenistic period concerning the festival of Alexandreia and Dionysia.⁴⁴ We happen to know that there was a festival named Dionysia on Rhodes, as recorded by both Diodorus⁴⁵ (in a context of 305 BC) and an inscription from Argos⁴⁶ (a decree of the city dating from around the middle of the third century BC). In an inscription from the *stadion* of Rhodes (a fragmentary list of city priesthoods), probably dating from the two last decades of the third century BC, we meet one priest for the cult of Alexander and one for that of Dionysus.⁴⁷ Later on, in a metrical dedication from Lindus, the *terminus post quem* of which is 156 BC, we find for the first time a mention of two crowns that a local sponsor

(*choregus*) won in the 'contests of Bacchus and Alexander'.⁴⁸ The two agonistic festivals were apparently already united.⁴⁹ They also appear united, but in the order *Alexandreia* and *Dionysia*, in all later sources (the latest one seems to date from the age of Caesar or slightly afterwards).⁵⁰

We may conclude that the Rhodians instituted these *Alexandreia* at the latest around 150 BC and united them, apparently from the very beginning, with their traditional *Dionysia*; it is possible, though not necessary, that the *Alexandreia* were instituted in connection with the creation or the renovation of the cult of Alexander in their city in the last decades of the third century BC. The hypothesis has been advanced that these Rhodian honours for Alexander were due to the ancient legend that Alexander had especially favoured the island and deposited his testament there. However, the exact date of this fabricated tradition, as well as its possible impact on the cultic practice of the Rhodians, is very uncertain.⁵¹ On the other hand, the fact that Alexander was honoured with the primary place in the united festival's official name, and Dionysus was thus appended to him, may be explained in the light of the contemporaneous relations of Rhodes with the Ptolemies. Rhodes had been the Ptolemies' most faithful ally in the Aegean, and the cult of Alexander was actually the founding stone of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult.⁵² Alexander was not a *new* god by the end of the third century BC, especially in the realm of the Ptolemies. Thus it would be perfectly understandable and highly expedient for Rhodes to honour him in this way. At the same time, of course, this phenomenon consummated a long-term development in which the once-appended festivals and festival names, originating in the cult of the rulers in the Hellenistic world, were gaining in importance and, at least in this case, achieving a distinguished position.

THE ROMAN SEQUEL: AN OUTLINE

If Alexander was already an established deity by the end of the third century BC, the divine cult of a political intruder was soon to rise in the Hellenistic world, and this would also result in a new series of appended festivals of the sort examined here. Tacitus preserves the tradition⁵³ that Rome was deified and accorded a cult for the first time

by the Smyrnaeans in 195 BC, that is in an age when the Greeks of Asia Minor turned to the new and increasingly dominant power of the Mediterranean to protect their freedom from Antiochus III. The institution of festivals named Rhomaia was a natural and frequent concomitant. These Rhomaia were again often appended to traditional civic festivals at many places in the Greek world, at least in some cases already in the first half of the second century BC. An inscription from Epidaurus dated by Mellor to this period⁵⁴ mentions, for example, victories of an Epidaurian at the Pythaia and Rhomaia of Megara, at the Poseidaia and Rhomaia of Antigoneia/Mantineia, and at the Dia and Aiantia and Rhomaia of Opus (a double festival turned into a triple one). A certain case in point is also the reformation of the Great Asclepieia of Cos (a festival of Panhellenic status) as *Megala Asklepieia kai Rhomaia* after the battle of Pydna in 168 BC. The importance of this decision for the Coans, who had been divided in respect to their policy towards Rome in the Third Macedonian War (*Pol.* 30.7.9–10), is evident.⁵⁵ A wave of such additional Rhomaia, such as the Erotideia Rhomaia of Thespieae, the Amphiaraia and Rhomaia of Oropus, and the Hecatesia and Rhomaia of Stratonicea in Caria, seems to be connected with the difficult age of Sulla.⁵⁶ Perhaps even more eloquent is the development we may grasp at an earlier focal point of this study, namely Cyme. There, in one of the well-known honorary decrees for the local benefactress Archippe, we read the provision that the *agonothetai* of the Megala Soteria and Rhomaia should announce the crowning of Archippe and perform it in public when they offer their sacrifices at the theatre on a specific day.⁵⁷ As in Philetaerus' times the city had obvious reasons to celebrate Soteria (Great Soteria at that), very probably in connection with the period of the War of Aristonicus (Aristonicus' decisive naval defeat by the Ephesians in 129 BC took place near Cyme)⁵⁸ and the creation of the province of Asia in its aftermath.⁵⁹ Even greater was certainly the new saviour, Rome, whose honour was now appended in a united festival by the carefully thankful Cymaeans. By this time the Dionysia of the city were held without any Antiocheia as an appendix, and the old—as we have seen—and apparently bipartite festival *ta Soteria kai ta Philetaireia* was almost certainly extinct. New cultic appendices betrayed the new centre of gravity for the city's interests.

How strong the appendix gradually became may be discerned in two further examples that resemble the Rhodian combination discussed above. Both cases represent an exception in relation to the far

more numerous ones of the type *festival x + Rhomaia*, but they are nevertheless indicative of the ubiquitous underlying trend. In the text of an agonistic dedication from Olympia, J. and L. Robert were able to recognize, and G. Dunst later able to verify, the reading of a festival of the Lycian League named *Rhomaia Letoia*.⁶⁰ At some date between 167 and 146 BC, a period of increased thankfulness of the Lycians to Rome—after the coolness in the Roman attitude to Rhodes and the consequent gains of the Lycians—the latter renamed their traditional festival in honour of Leto, not merely to include Rome in the festival but to place her at the forefront. At a later date we find a double festival on Samos under the name of *Rhomaia and Attaleia*.⁶¹ A possible background for this festival could be either the period of the end of Attalus II's reign or again the aftermath of the War of Aristonicus. Samos had been occupied by the rebels of the pretender,⁶² but Rome had finally managed to re-establish the order of western Asia Minor as heir and executor of the testament of Attalus III. Under these circumstances it was clear who would receive the subordinate position in a common festival. The Hellenistic kingdoms could only survive as appendices of Roman power, a reflection of that truth appeared even on festival names.

By the time the Roman emperors arrived on the scene, the pattern of these appended festivals was long set. There are many examples for this. Thus it was almost natural for the small polis of Calindoea in Chalcidice to have instituted by AD 1 its local festival for Zeus and Caesar Augustus, the generous realization of which was (inter alia) the issuing reason for our relevant source, an honorary decree for a local benefactor, who also served as a magistrate and as a priest of Zeus, Rome, and Augustus in his home town.⁶³ The proliferation of festivals also named *Caesareia*⁶⁴ and *Sebasta/-eia*⁶⁵ in the Imperial period⁶⁶ was the last act of an already ancient play. That these appended names were sometimes omitted with the passage of time—due to various likely reasons—was no novelty either. Appendices mirror change, and change never stops.

CONCLUSIONS

Can we draw some general conclusions from this detailed treatment of the evidence? The importance of this sort of festival seems an

immediate and obvious one. Civic festivals opened themselves in this way to changes in name and eventually in content (such as in the case of the eponymous day of Eumenes II in the Panionia) in order to better accommodate the deified rulers in the traditional patterns of city life.⁶⁷ Doing it in such an appended form was a solution that combined discretion and expediency. As in the case of *synnaoi theoi*, gods sharing a common sacred place, the traditional gods acted in a way as hosts to integrate the newcomers. Traditions, or at least their appearances, were thus saved. An additional label may be detached just as easily as it once had been affixed, something that we saw actually often happened. On the other hand, it is easily understandable how welcome it must have been for civic authorities to not have to institute extra and costly festivals in order to accommodate the honours of political deities. Even if the latter were granted a distinct part inside common festivals, the financial and organizational advantages for the cities were obvious.⁶⁸

In many of the above cases, we saw that Dionysia in particular were combined with such dynastic appendices. Apart from the case of Poliorcetes, where an intrinsic relation existed between the traditional god and the deified monarch, the reason for this liaison must have also been a practical one: theatricality was a basic trait of Hellenistic kingship and its need for representation.⁶⁹ Therefore, the stage of the Dionysia matched the sovereigns perfectly.

As already remarked, labels are easily removed and appendices easily eliminated. However, this 'festive cohabitation'—despite the basically rudimentary character of our evidence—also presents us with examples where the originally appended deities gained considerable importance inside such double festivals. In general, the appended deities were temporary, but weighty additions, exactly because they all tended to embody new—real or wishful—anchors of poliad security in constantly difficult times.⁷⁰

NOTES

1. Brief mentions and collections of examples already in Nock (1930), esp. 247–9, and more recently in Chaniotis (1995), 148–9 (with n. 16).
2. *Hymn. Hom.* 3, esp. 158–9.
3. *Hdt.* 5. 83.

4. *FGrH* 76, F14; *Plut. Vit. Dem.* 12. On the other (esp. cultic) honours for Antigonos and Demetrios in Athens most recently (with further literature): Green (2003); Buraselis and Aneziri (2004), 172, 181–2 (nos. 284–7); Buraselis (2008), 215–7.
5. Dinsmoor (1931), 7–8. The text is fragmentary but the restoration of the festival name may be regarded as safe: [... Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστ]ει καὶ Δημητρίε[ι]ων τρ[α/γωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι].
6. Segre (1932), esp. 292.
7. Cf. Habicht (1970), 53, with further literature; Habicht (1995), 95 (a somewhat more nuanced view): ‘dem Fest der Dionysien wurde ein Demetriosfest angefügt’.
8. *Plut. Vit. Dem.* 2 fin., 12; also relevant are the jovial traits of the god Demetrios in the famous *ithyphallos*, *Athen.* 253d. Cf. *i.a.* Cerfaux and Tondriau (1957), 175–6; Habicht (1970), 150.
9. *IG* XII 9, 207 (+ Addenda, 176) with, XII suppl., 178. Cf. also the improved text in Stephanis (1984), 563–4. It seems difficult to accept Trümper’s dating (1997, 40–1) to the period of Demetrios II solely on the dubious argument of the form of letters in this document.
10. Cf. the analysis by Habicht (1970), 76–8.
11. Stephanis (1984), esp. 541–61.
12. Knoepfler (1989), 51 ff. read [‘H?ρ]αιῶνος instead of [‘Iπ]αιῶνος in l. 38, and thus reached the conclusion that the Dionysia and the Demetriaia of the Euboeans were separated by several months, a fact which also underlines the distinct character of each festival.
13. On the Eretrian Dionysia: see Knoepfler (2001), 177 with n. 433.
14. *Pace* Knoepfler (1989), esp. 52–3, who unconvincingly prefers to connect these Demetriaia with the cult of Demeter (cf. below).
15. Trümper (1997), 40–1, 51–4.
16. L. 18–20 (... κατὰ τὸν Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμο[ν]).
17. One may compare the alternation of annual Antigoneia and Demetriaia on Delos in the period before the battle of Ipsus: Buraselis (1982), 74–5.
18. A later instance of appending honours to an Antigonid king to those of a local deity in an existing festival of a Greek city is admittedly only a hypothesis: Sokolowski (1969), no. 106, restored the text of *IG* XII 5, 1008.6–7 to accommodate the mention of such a festival for the demos of Ios and king Antigonos (II or III?), but his text restoration remains very uncertain. Cf. Habicht (1970), 65–73 (esp. 71).
19. (a) *I. Erythrai*, i. 27. 22–3 (the restoration [τοῖς Διονυσ]ίοις καὶ τοῖς [Σέλευ/κείοις] is safely imposed by the context), ‘um 274 v. Chr.’; (b) ib. 35 (≈ *Syll.*³412/3), 13, ‘etwa Mitte des 3. Jahrh. v. Chr.’; (c) ib. 36, 12/13, Mitte des 3. Jahrh. v. Chr.’; (d) ib. 112 (≈ *Clara Rhodos* 10 (1941), 31–2, no. 2), 4/5, ‘erste Hälfte des 2. Jahrh. v. Chr.’; (e) ib. 119 (≈ *IG* XII. 1, 6), 3/4, ‘etwa 280 v. Chr.’. The mention of the two festivals is completely,

- though very plausibly, restored in *I. Erythrai*, I, 24 (\approx Michel 1900, 503), 31, 'etwa 277/5 v. Chr.'. Cf. Habicht (1970), 85–7.
20. Source e (n. 19): ... τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τῶν Διονυσίων καὶ Σε/λευκε[ίω]ν ...
 21. Sources a and e (n. 19).
 22. *I. Erythrai*, I, 111 (\approx *I. Priene* 50), 31/2, 'um 160 v. Chr.'
 23. Sources a–e above (n. 19).
 24. Sources a and e (n. 19).
 25. OGIS 212 \approx *I. Ilion* 31 (incorporating the essential restorations of L. Robert). Cf. Habicht (1970), 82–3.
 26. The usual identification of the honoree with Seleucus I has been questioned with serious arguments by Orth (1977), 72–3, and F. Piejko (cf. SEG 33.1046).
 27. Manganaro (2000) = SEG 50.1195. Cf. Gauthier (2003); Buraselis (2003).
 28. Manganaro (2000), 408–9, thought of connecting the background of the contact (Cyme facing an external danger) with the war between Antiochus I and Antigonos Gonatas and the first operations of the Galatians in Asia Minor (c.280–278 BC), while Gauthier (2003), 14, reasonably pointed out that the already developed relations between Philetaerus and the city (see below) seem to impose a later date (c.270 BC). Cf. Buraselis (2003), 191.
 29. L. 27/8: ... ἀναγγεῖλα[ι]/τὸν ἀγωνοθ[έ]ταν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Διονυσίοις καὶ Ἀντισοχείοις. Cf. Buraselis (2008), 217.
 30. *I. Kyme* 2.17 (early 3rd century BC ?); 13.7 (a passage in Archippe's dossier, probably after 129 BC; cf. n. 57 below); 89. 4 (middle 2nd century BC according to the ed. pr.).
 31. L. 42: ἡ πόλις ἄγῃ τὰ Σωτήρια καὶ τὰ Φιλεταίρε[ια] συμπομπεύην (the text is fragmentary at this point but the whole context renders the sense reliably clear). Cf. Gauthier (2003), 14–15; Buraselis (2003), 192; (2008), 217.
 32. App., *Syr.* 65: ... ὃς καὶ σωτὴρ ἐπεκλήθη Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλόντας ἐξέλασας.
 33. Of course, the Soteria of Delphi, but also other similarly motivated festivals of the Hellenistic period (often related with wars against the Galatians), come immediately to one's mind. Cf. the cases included in the useful list of Chaniotis (1995), 164–8.
 34. Pace Gauthier (2003), 14, who seems to overlook this detail.
 35. Cf. Buraselis (2003), 192, where similar cases of such a political/religious hierarchy have been analysed.
 36. Petzl and Pleket (1979), 73–4 (the text also in Allen (1983), 227).
 37. The two editors of the inscription expressed different views on this point: Petzl favoured a date under Attalus I, while Pleket preferred the later possibility (l.c., 80 with n. 27).

38. L. 8f.: . . . τὰν δὲ ἀναγγελίσαν ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν/ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Διονυσίοισι καὶ Ἀτταλείοισι.
39. Welles (1934), no. 52, line 51–6: Ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει/τῶν Πανιωνίων ἡμέραν ἐπώνυμον ἄγοντες/ἡμῖν ἐπιφανέστερον τὴν ὅλην ἑορτὴν συν/τελήτε, προσόδους ὑμῖν τὰς ἱκανὰς ἀνα/[θήσ]ω ἅφ' ὧν ἔξετε τὴν καθήκουσαν ἡμῖν/[ἀνατιθ]έναι? μνήμην. Welles (1934), 217, correctly assumes that the initiative of the plan originates with the king and not the league.
40. Robert (1950), where four epigraphic sources of this festival are quoted or cited: p. 8, ll. 10–11, and pp. 18–19. Cf. Daux (1943), 241–2.
41. Cf. Herrmann (1989), 145–6.
42. Wörrle (2000), 561–2, with a useful and concise discussion of the Soteria and Heracleia, their connection with the Panathenaia and Eumeneia and further literature (to which add Scheer (1993), 141–2).
43. See esp. Huttner (1997), 175–90; Queyrel (2003), 16–18.
44. The basic discussion of this festival remains that by Habicht (1970), 26–8, where the relevant evidence is collected (26 with nos. 6–7). A new example in Kontorini (1989), 73.18 (p. 164), dating from the first century BC.
45. Diod. Sic. 20.84.3 (on the occasion of the Rhodian preparations to resist Poliorcetes).
46. Moretti (1967), 40, 26.
47. Segre (1941), 29–30 (ll. 8–9, 13–14). The priest of Asclepius is mentioned between those of Dionysus and Alexander. After the latter we find a priest of Ptolemy (I) and another of Ptolemy (III) and Berenice (II).
48. Blinkenberg (1941), 197–8, 5–6: . . . Βάκχου δ' ἀβροκίτωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου τ' ἐν ἀέθλοις/δισσὰ χοραγείας ἐκφερόμα[ν σ]τέφει.
49. Blinkenberg (1941), col. 469, spoke thus of 'Dionysia et Alexandria'. Habicht (1970), 26, understood the passage above as mentioning two *separate* festivals and assumed therefore a period when the Alexandria was independent. However, the two crowns won by the choregus are not incongruous with the idea of a double festival. The sequence of the two names (Bacchus, Alexander) in the metrical dedication does not seem to me to presuppose a similar one in the name of a united festival either, i.e. we do not need to postulate a festival 'Dionysia and Alexandria' on the basis of this text.
50. IG XII.1, 57 = IGRom. IV.1119.
51. Cf. already the sound discussion by Habicht (1970), 27–8 with notes. (esp. n. 15); also Wiemer (2002), 64.
52. Cf. Buraselis and Aneziri (2004), 168, 173 (with citation of sources and further literature). In the parallel area of the civic ruler cult one may now also consider the intriguing evidence of an '[Alexa]ndreion and

- Ptolemaieion' (probably a common temenos or gymnasium) on Kos c.250 BC: Bosnakis and Hallof (2003), 226–8.
53. Tac. *Ann.* iv.56.1: '...seque [sc. Zmyrnaeos] primos templum urbis Romae statuisset, M. Porcio consule...'. Cf. Mellor (1975), 14–16.
 54. *IG* IV² 1, 629. Cf. Mellor (1975), 105, but the later half of the second century BC cannot be excluded: thus already Hiller at *IG*, l.c., and more recently Jost (1985), 531, with further literature.
 55. Crowther (1999), nos. 8, 13–14 (p. 286): (the honours awarded to Coan judges by Chalcis should be proclaimed)... ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις/ Ἀσκληπείοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις... Cf. Crowther (1999), 291–3; Grieb (2008), 194–5.
 56. Knoepfler (1997), esp. 34–9 (summarized in *SEG* 47. 518), with citations and further literature. Cf. Mellor (1975), 105–6, 177–8. However, one may notice that there is no evidence of such festivals, i.e. appended to traditional ones, for Sulla himself. The Athenian Sylleia for the conqueror/'saviour' appears as an independent festival: *IG* II² 1039, 57; *SEG* 13. 279, 3; 37. 135, 2; cf. Kallet-Marx (1995), 214–15, with literature.
 57. *SEG* 33.103936–8: ... ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀγωνοθέται τῶν μεγάλων/ Σωτηρίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων τήν τε εἰσκήρυξιν καὶ τὴν στεφάνωσιν ποιείσθωσ[αν], ἐπὶ ἀν ἐπιτελῶσι τὰς θυσίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῇ τρεισκαίδεκάτῃ.
 58. Strabo, 14. 1. 38 (C 646): ... ἡττηθεὶς ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ τὴν Κυμαίαν ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων.
 59. The foundation of the Province of Asia had been already assumed as a *terminus post quem* for Archippe's honours by Robert (1968), 445, a view that seems now verified by the mention of this festival in the same context: cf. *SEG* l.c. (no. 52), p. 312.
 60. *SEG* 25.467 (improving on *SEG* 22.350 after the discussions cited *ibid.*): ... Ῥωμαῖα Δητῶα τοῦ [κοινού] τῶν Λυκίων (l. 26). Cf. also Mellor (1975), 177.
 61. *IG* XII.6, 200. Cf. *EBGR* (2001), 75 (p. 212).
 62. Florus, 1.35.4. Cf. Transier (1985), 36.
 63. *SEG* 35.744. Cf. Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992), 77–80.
 64. e.g. the Apolloneia and Asklepieia and Caesareia of Epidauros: *IG* IV² 1. 101, 654. For more on this and similar festivals in the Peloponnese, see Lafond (2006), esp. 312–15 ('Culte impérial et traditions locales: les fêtes doubles'), with the succinct note (312): 'Ces [doubles] fêtes apportent en même temps la preuve que l'identité grecque locale n'était pas incompatible avec la loyauté impériale romaine.'
 65. e.g. the Megala Sebasta Heraia of Samos: *IG* XII.6, 312.
 66. Cf. Mellor (1975), 176–7 on the exact meaning of these additional names and the significance of their eventual disappearance.
 67. On this accommodation and its meaning, see the seminal work of Price (1984), esp. 28–40.

68. On the latter aspect concerning the imperial cult, cf. Herz (1997), 253.
69. Cf. Chaniotis (1997), esp. 235–42, 244–5.
70. Cf. the conclusions of the parallel study: Buraselis (2008), esp. 222.

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The *Feriae Latinae*

Christopher J. Smith

Thirty years after Aeneas founded Lavinium, his son Ascanius 'led the Latins from the unhealthy low grounds on the coast to the side of Monte Cavo, from the summit of which the eye commands a view more ample than the dominion of Rome before the Samnite wars. By the light to the setting sun, it can reach Corsica and Sardinia; and the hill which still bears the name of Circe, looks like an island beneath the first rays of her heavenly sire.' So said Niebuhr, and the complex of religious sites and historical connections pervading the area of the Alban Lakes—think also of Frazer's famous opening of *The Golden Bough* at Lake Nemi—has long fascinated scholars and tourists. Few scenes in Italy have been painted as often, and Alba Longa had an extraordinary hold on the Romans.¹ Nothing illustrates this better than the fact that the *feriae Latinae*, which were celebrated there from a very early stage in Roman history, continued to be a feature of Roman religious life right through to the time of Theodosius.²

The central significance of the festival deserves emphasis however, especially since, on the one hand, it is seldom considered at length in scholarship in English (with the exception of Alföldi's harnessing of the festival to his thesis about Latin strength in *Early Rome and the Latins*), and it is, conversely, the subject of intense speculation in French and Italian; on the other, it has recently been brought into play in arguments about Caesar's final days. The argument I wish to pursue through this paper, which will deliberately attempt to consider the festival across its whole history, relates to the kinds of cultural and political work that are being attempted in the continuing Roman engagement with this religious event. The *feriae Latinae* were in a

sense a ritual performance of community, but also a reflection upon community. The reiterated performance of the *feriae Latinae* consciously touched upon both the mysterious prehistory of Rome, and on expectations of her survival, and has something to tell us about the wider issues of ludic celebration at Rome.

THE EVIDENCE

The significant similarities and differences between Lavinium and Alba Longa give a point of departure. The story in Livy, Virgil, and others, to which Niebuhr referred, placed Lavinium clearly first, and in archaeological terms, there is a profound difference between the urbanized and developed city state of Lavinium and the scant and incomplete remains to be found at Alba Longa.³ However, it is precisely in the context of the *feriae Latinae* that this issue becomes controversial, and we must therefore consider it in more detail. Let us begin by briefly reviewing what we do know about the festival.

The core historical account is in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁴ Tarquinius Superbus defeated the Latins and brought the Hernicans, and Ecetra and Antium of the Volscians, into an agreement. He established a general festival at Alba Longa, during which they must abstain from any acts of hostility against each other and perform common sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris, and he appointed the share each city was to contribute and the portion each of them was to receive. There were forty-seven participating cities. Some brought lambs, some cheeses, some milk and perhaps honey cakes (the text may be corrupt). Together they sacrificed a bull, and received a portion of it; the Romans superintended the festival. The importance of equal shares is shown by Livy 32.1.9, where legates from Ardea complain that they did not receive their portion of the meat.

Alba Longa however has a history before the Tarquins; the city was, allegedly, destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, and its inhabitants removed to Rome.⁵ An early question for us therefore is whether the *feriae Latinae* were the invention of the later kings of Rome, and it was a question which the ancients differed upon. The vital evidence is preserved in a scholion to a passage from Cicero's *pro Plancio*;⁶ there is substantial disagreement between those who hold Tarquinius Priscus responsible, and those who believe the festival goes much

further back to Faunus or to Latinus, and Aeneas, who disappeared after a battle. (The passage goes on to mention the difficulty of finding anyone to attend in the Late Republic.) Another passage to which we will return refers to Latinus disappearing after a battle with Mezentius, king of Caere, and becoming Jupiter Latiaris.

So one tradition takes the festival back to the very beginnings, and another, which ascribes the festival to Tarquinius, roots it in Roman expansion. The first tradition is, however, profoundly complicated because of the oddities surrounding the location—physically and mythologically—of the Latins. Latinus is king at Lavinium, the people who founded Lavinium are the Laurentes, and yet the Prisci Latini are the inhabitants of colonies sent out by Alba Longa, and the fact of the existence of Latinus at an early stage is confirmed by his appearance in Hesiod (but as king of the Tyrsennoi or Etruscans).⁷ It is very likely that the original Latins may have been more tightly focused, and the term becomes used of a wider group, but this leaves the relationship between the various key figures underdeveloped.⁸ The dense web of association and connection has never been successfully unravelled, despite some determined efforts, but Grandazzi comes closest by indicating that we are looking at layers of mythology, in which a number of figures occupy similar ground in terms of their role as founder and their identification with tutelary deities.⁹ So, we have three great leaders who all have some position within a foundation legend, and all of whom disappear mysteriously: Latinus, Aeneas, and Romulus. Latinus and Aeneas are both associated with the *feriae Latinae*, Romulus with the Consualia at Rome, which brought the Sabines into the city before the seizure of the women.¹⁰ Latinus is transmuted into Jupiter Latiaris, Aeneas into Jupiter or Pater Indiges, and Romulus into Quirinus, a deity whose festival, the Quirinalia, was the great festival of the *curiae*.¹¹ We may never be able to individuate the historical circumstances of the development and relative significance of each myth, and indeed that might not be the right approach; essentially a number of communities found similar ways to account for their founding, and the subsequent disappearance of the founder.

The myth of the power of Alba Longa is interesting. In the first instance, the long list of Alban kings is clearly derived from the effort to bridge the gap between Aeneas and Romulus.¹² The identification of the Prisci Latini with the Alban colonies is then extracted from Pliny the elder's famous list (3.69) of the fifty-three Latin states which have disappeared, of which there were thirty *populi Albenses*, who are

specifically identified as collectively the communities accustomed to receive flesh on the Alban Mount.¹³ Yet, as Grandazzi demonstrated, the concept of a great city of Alba Longa is problematic, because we cannot find it (there are some remains of the temple of Jupiter Latiaris), and it appears to have left little trace.¹⁴ Grandazzi's conclusion that Alba Longa is the invention of the mythic mentality leaves the huge problem of understanding the festival; why was this the centre of a great cult of the Latins, and when did it become a cult of such centrality?

Before we try to answer this, we should define more clearly what the requirements of the cult had become. The crucial issue is that Roman magistrates were required to attend the *feriae Latinae* before the consuls set out for their campaigns. There were a number of requirements that needed to be fulfilled at the outset of a consul's year; the passing of the *lex curiata de imperio* was one, and attendance at the *feriae Latinae* was another, and this was celebrated with regularity and solemnity; the fact that, as one of the *feriae conceptivae*, it had to be announced by the consuls in some ways reinforced the obligation.¹⁵ Whilst the former celebration appears to have confirmed the *auspicia*, the reason for the latter is never made explicit, but it is remarkable that at least in the later Republic every magistrate of Rome was required to attend—even tribunes of the people who were otherwise not supposed to leave the city—and a special magistrate, a *praefectus urbi*, had to be found to maintain the city in their absence.¹⁶

The archaeological evidence for the area of the Alban Hills is now substantial and challenging, and is characterized in part by scattered burials. This pattern of isolated burials unattached to evident settlement is not unique here, and may be a clue to the way the territory was owned and envisioned.¹⁷ There are hints that similar isolated burials may have characterized the area around Antemnae, Fidenae, and Crustumium just north of Rome, for instance. A more detailed study of this phenomenon might reveal it to be characteristic of a period when the landscape was being filled and boundaries settled. These are mostly burials of between one or two individuals only, and one generation, and may therefore be a moment in the process of defining frontiers in the ninth and eighth centuries. The Hills and Lakes are surrounded by some powerful Latin states (Lanuvium, Tusculum, Aricia, and Velitrae), and there must have been a complex relationship between Alba Longa, Bovillae, and the Lucus Ferentinae,

where the Latin League met for military purposes.¹⁸ One way of understanding this territory is to see it as delimited by territorial markers in the form of graves, but with a common or shared area that is set aside; hence when one enters the area in the context of the *feriae Latinae* it is geographically distinct (and becomes more so) and there is a truce, which also marks out the area as temporally special.¹⁹

There are clear parallels for some sort of space that is separated off in this way. The obvious example is Delphi, with the amphictyony and the truce during the Pythian Games, but the nearest is the Fanum Voltumnae, where the Etruscan *populi* met, and where games were probably held.²⁰ In both these instances, and at that of Alba Longa, we have areas which allow for an expression of community to supervene over local antagonisms and rivalry. Barker and Rasmussen (1998) compare the Panionion, which is also relatively undistinguished, archaeologically. Places of communal activity may not always be the right places for competitive architectural display.

One can reconstruct a story therefore in which from a very early point in time, perhaps the ninth century BC, peoples of Latium came together at Alba Longa for a festival. It is not at all clear that Rome was one of those original peoples, and despite the close connection between Romulus and Remus and Alba Longa, of course, Rome was not a formal colony—its beginnings were far more tense. At some point, however, Rome does become involved in the festival, and it is impossible to dissociate this from the account of the destruction of Alba Longa by Rome under Tullus Hostilius, but Grandazzi's puzzle remains that this account is predicated on the existence of a substantial settlement of which we have found no trace.

The sources' account both of what happens at the festival, and what the Romans do to change it, is surprising in that the impact of Rome is relatively hard to discern, and for a festival of such apparent importance, we are poorly informed. The crucial aspect appears to be the sacrifice of a white bull, and the participation in the distribution of the meat from the sacrifice is something which can be taken to characterize the *populi Albenses*.²¹ The area was sprinkled with milk by women.²² We know also that the festival ends with a huge bonfire, which could portend evil, such as when it forked in two before Pharsalus.²³ Any ritual inaccuracy required a repetition or *instauratio*; note the last example in 176 where the Lanuvians are required to provide the replacement of sacrificial animal because they had failed to pray for the safety of the *populus Romanus Quiritium*.²⁴ The other

characteristic of the festival relates to small masks and swings; part of the evidence we have already seen in the scholiast's evidence; the rest is found in Festus, who describes the disappearance of Latinus, the masks, swings, and milk, and begins to draw a now lost comparison with Greek rituals related to Icarus.²⁵ Much has been written about the mysterious little masks, and certainty is impossible, but the connection with the disappearance of warrior leaders, and other indications of the use of *oscilla* would seem to indicate that they stand in lieu of human deaths.²⁶ This aspect of the festival is certain to have undergone far-reaching social and cultural transformations over time, as indicated by the presence of slaves and freedmen as part of the celebrations.

The other crucial and difficult issue is over the length of the ceremony. We may briefly acknowledge that the accounts of the rites needed to appease the destruction of Alba Longa have nothing to do with the *feriae Latinae*.²⁷ We must then look at two key accounts, in Dionysius and Plutarch. At 6.95, Dionysius gives an account as follows.²⁸ At the time of the Foedus Cassianum, after the defeat of Coriolanus and the Volscians, and the dangerous period of the secession of the plebs, a new treaty with the Latins was struck. An additional third day was added to the festival—the first day had been set apart when Tarquinius conquered the Etruscans, the second the people added after they had freed the republic by expelling the kings, and the third was added because of the return of the seceders (note these are local Roman issues); the superintendence was entrusted to the aediles (assistants to the tribunes), and they were honoured by the senate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other insignia that the kings had had. This account would seem to be supported by the claim in Plutarch's *Life of Camillus* that a fourth day was added in 366 BC.²⁹ Both accounts specifically identify the Latin festival, but this has been disputed, and it appears that the sources were confused; clearly the aediles are better related to Roman games, and Livy at 6.42.2 adds the extra day to the Ludi Magni.³⁰ A solution is that the Ludi Romani were based on the *feriae Latinae*, and then expanded due to specifically Roman circumstances; the *feriae Latinae* largely remained of the same duration (perhaps just a single day) but were followed by games lasting two days, which took place at Rome (we hear of a chariot race on the Capitoline which ended with the victor taking a drink of absinthe); the references to Ludi Magni or Maximi may then be to

irregular votive games.³¹ We should note that, on this argument, and more or less on any argument, the *feriae Latinae* are not about games. The games happen at Rome, and what happens at Alba Longa is entirely bound up in a sacrifice. It is notable that the Romans themselves conceived of the history of their games as distinctively Etruscan; could there have been some long-standing inhibition to bring foreign customs to so quintessentially local a performance? It is clear that much of the symbolic universe created within the context of games can also be created through a non-ludic context, although we have no reason to believe that the festivals at Alba Longa, or indeed at Lavinium, or Aricia, the other main gatherings of the Latins, were free from competition.³²

The Late Republican celebrations were the subject of concern. Cicero appears dismissive of an old woman's fears about the festival, but notes that the consuls of 50 BC made the declaration their first act. Dio reports more nervousness and may derive this from a Republican source. When the consuls of 43 BC leave before the *feriae Latinae*, he says 'there is no instance where this has happened and the Romans have fared well'. He notes the odd times and bad omens at the Games in 42 BC, when the *praefectus urbi* celebrated the games which, as Dio said, did not belong to him.³³

We are almost at the end of the gathering of evidence for the events of the festival; there only remains the determined Christian view that Jupiter Latiaris demanded human sacrifice. This has been well discussed by Rives. It is highly unlikely that this represents anything other than a Christian reversal of pagan views about Christian rites, and a distortion of the custom of using the blood of a defeated *bestiarius*. If this is correct, it nonetheless brings to light a gladiatorial competition which is otherwise unknown, and may well be a later addition.³⁴

The names of the magistrates in whose year the *feriae Latinae* were celebrated were inscribed on the wall of the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, in a version probably contemporary with the erection of the Capitoline *fasti*, and then continued into the Imperial period.³⁵ Fragments survive. They begin with the Decemvirate, but as Mommsen suggested, that suggests that something happened at the time of the Decemvirate in relation to the celebration. The records begin with an account of chaos, for in 450 BC, the celebrations did not take place, and in 449 they had to be celebrated three times, and this has been explained as once to cover the previous year, once in the ordinary

course of events, and once as supplication. Military tribunes with consular power are subsequently recorded. In 396 BC, Camillus held the games a second time as dictator in November, and it would appear that the first ceremony of that year made up for the improper celebration of the previous year, and Camillus now completed his duty.³⁶ It was as dictator that Caesar celebrated the *feriae Latinae* in a rush in 49 before departing for war against Pompey.³⁷ We know from the Capitoline *fasti* that in 257 BC, a *dictator feriarum Latinarum causa* was appointed; 257 was an odd year, mostly spent in the preparation for the invasion of Africa in 256; the most one can say I think is that it would have been a very bad year to have omitted the customary rituals.³⁸ Failure to observe the custom led to *instauratio* and potential disaster, as we can tell from references in Livy, and much later in Dio.³⁹ This may explain the peculiar nature of the *fasti* in the 20s BC where we find apologies for absence from the emperor Augustus, a determined indication of presence (23 BC) and a repeat of the Latin festival marking his abdication and entrance into office of the new consuls, Sestius and Piso. Nor were the *fasti* immune to subsequent political turmoil; the name of the consul Q. Pomponius Secundus, who was forced into civil war, is excised in an example of *damnatio memoriae*.⁴⁰

Finally, we should note that there is evidence for the extraordinarily long duration of the festival. The *fasti* themselves break off in AD 109, but there is epigraphic evidence for various activities associated with the cult through the Empire, and it was still operating at the time of Theodosius.⁴¹ The last person named as part of the ceremony, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, asked for help from the Roman gods; it was not forthcoming.⁴²

Thus far we have described a festival with deep roots, but which is also deeply confusing. For centuries, at a site that never was a substantial settlement, and which was alleged to have been destroyed in the seventh century BC, Roman magistrates celebrated a festival at which most of the intended participants were no longer able to be present, and with at least part of the solemnities happening elsewhere, but without which Rome's chief magistracy was in some way incomplete. In the next section of this paper I want to use Julius Caesar's celebration of the *feriae Latinae* in 44 BC to suggest some solutions to the nature of the ritual.

JULIUS CAESAR AND THE *FERIAE LATINAE*

Weinstock has drawn attention to the complex relations between Caesar and the *feriae Latinae*, which start with the famous altar, inscribed and dedicated by the *gens Julia* to Vediovis, a youthful guise of Jupiter. We have seen that despite his immense rush, Caesar made sure to celebrate the *feriae Latinae* in 49 BC. It may be that a story of the escape of a bull into a lake during a sacrifice is wrongly attributed by Dio to Fortuna; could it have been at the *feriae Latinae*, and was the lake the Alban Lake?⁴³ We also know that Octavian was made *praefectus urbi* in 47, and in 45 the festival lasted three days with a different *praefectus urbi* each day. The celebration in 44 was even more elaborate; it was connected with an *ovatio*, and apparently preceded by a grant of the right to wear the costume of the king of Alba, which included the red boots which the patricians used at Rome. Caesar's *ovatio* was also special because he rode into the city, when he should have entered on foot, and when he was a *dictator* (holders of which office were not supposed to ride, hence the appointment of the *magister equitum*). It was on his return that he found that his statues had been adorned with diadems.⁴⁴

Weinstock's suggestion is that Caesar was beginning the process of moving towards a form of kingship, which would have assisted his role as the successor to Alexander in conquering Parthia. More recently, Geoffrey Sumi has focused on the more pacific elements of both the *feriae Latinae* and the *ovatio*.⁴⁵ Sumi argues that the festival has a close connection with *concordia*, and the evidence here (though not cited) must be Plutarch's *Life of Camillus* 42, to which we have already alluded; there is in fact no reason to associate the festival with *concordia*. Sumi goes on to argue that, because of the absence of magistrates in several Latin cities, something which Cicero refers to, it is likely that Roman aristocrats originating in these communities joined the festival as representatives. Sumi concludes 'this festival then was an opportunity for Caesar to demonstrate *concordia* and harmony among the aristocracy, a *concordia* created and fostered by himself as a result of his victory' (67); but the various officials involved later on, for instance the *sacerdotes Cabenses* who stand in for Caenina, are certainly not all Roman aristocrats.

Moreover, Sumi argues, largely on the basis of Plutarch's account in *Marcellus* 22, that Caesar deliberately chose the *ovatio* because it was the appropriate way of celebrating a victory won by conference,

persuasion and argument. The only evidence for Caesar's *ovatio* is the *Fasti Triumphales*, but the occasion is, as Weinstock indicated, extraordinary, and the nearest parallel, the joint *ovatio* of Octavian and Antony after the Peace of Brundisium, is not really the same at all; it may have had something to do with the prior agreement to allow Caesar the triumphal garb.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

It is time to draw together the threads of an argument. The key to the understanding of the *feriae Latinae* at Alba Longa, it seems to me, is the one indisputable point of influence the festival has, which is that it must be concluded before the consuls leave for their sphere of military operation. The festival is about preparing for war, and once we keep this in mind, much (though not all) falls into place. If we reflect on the other aspects of the consuls' appointment, we must remind ourselves of the significant importance of the *lex curiata*, without which a magistrate could not celebrate a triumph. This law was passed at first by the *curiae*, the most ancient division of the city, subsequently by thirty lictors who represented them. A magistrate with *imperium* was required to take the public *auspicia* before any political or military activity. There were two *auguracula* at Rome; one by the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol, the other, as Varro tells us, on the Collis Latiaris, which is part of the Quirinal Hill. Coarelli has argued that this implied the existence of an *auguraculum* at Alba Longa and this has recently been supported by Cecamore.⁴⁷ One line of augury at least ran from the Capitol to the Alban Hills.

The primary aspect of the Latin ceremony was the sharing of the sacrificial victim among the Latins. The relationship between the *feriae Latinae* and the Latin League was intimate, and we are therefore engaged with the rituals that surround the earliest activities of the Latin army. Is it too much then to suggest that the *oscilla* are to ward off death in battle? Whilst Roman dominance over this grouping was absolute by the end of the fourth century, it was far less clear-cut earlier on. The sources obscure the role of the Latins, but they must have played a huge role in the success of the Romans in defeating the various incursions over the fifth century. Oakley's suggestion that the Romans and Latins could operate independently,

but could also summon each other's assistance, renders the *feriae Latinae* an important moment in securing mutual co-operation. It would be very interesting to know more about the functioning of the festival in the periods of difficulty, but what we can say is that the festival survived.

By 338 BC, the capacity of the Latins to stand against Rome had been conclusively overthrown, but the contribution of the Latins to the Roman army must have remained significant, and notably after 338 the Romans resume the policy of founding Latin colonies.⁴⁸ In other words, with victory came some concessions, and the determination on all sides to maintain the festival, and given its position as the preliminary to war, just as the triumph was the conclusion, it is clearly bound in to the increasingly complex set of rituals that surround Roman warfare in an expanding empire.

Bringing the Latins together to seek the favour of the god was still a practical act, but over time it must have become less so. As the contribution of the Latins became dwarfed by that of other allies, what was left to the *feriae Latinae* but an obscure party on a hill? I would argue that much did remain of relevance, because the festival gave authorization to the consuls to lead not just Romans, but allies into war. The ritual *visceratio* or distribution of the flesh of the victim was a statement of participation in a much wider community, a strong claim of belonging and alliance, just as the *lex curiata* remained the sanction of an image of the oldest Roman community.⁴⁹ The cultural work of the Latin festival was to situate Rome in an old history and a wider community at precisely the moment that the consuls set off to lead that wider community into war.

In this sense, the *triumphus in monte Albano* makes more sense than ever. Returning to the Alban Mount instead of the Capitoline is to return to another point of departure for the duly ordained army. As Corey Brennan points out, the first such triumphator, C. Papirius Maso, had Latin origins and profound legal and religious knowledge to draw upon.⁵⁰ Like many innovations in Roman religion, it was the reinvention of tradition. However, the triumph is not, it seems to me, the way to understand Caesar's *ovatio*, and Weinstock's intuition here was largely correct. Caesar's celebration of the *feriae Latinae* both in 49 and in 44 was prefatory to war, not as an act of acclamation, the one prior to Pharsalus, the other prior to a Parthian expedition, and the *ovatio* in 44 is perhaps best understood as connected with the prior agreement to award him the triumphal garb. The fact that we

hear nothing in the sources about the *ovatio* beyond the formal record of the *fasti* seems to me indicative.

The role of the *feriae Latinae* can be seen to change dramatically in relation to circumstances over a thousand years of repeated performance. Beginning in the context of early Latium, it became a mechanism of local stability, before acquiring increasingly symbolic attributes of Rome's relationship with the wider allied community, especially in the context of the preparation for war. The close connection with the familial haunts of the Julii no doubt made it peculiarly significant to the Julio-Claudians, but the established line of descent from Alba Longa to Rome kept the festival alive until the imposition of Christianity finally brought a close to its rites. This argument has taken us from the evidence about the rite and its performances to the specific details of celebration at the time of Julius Caesar. I have suggested that the clear military context there reflects an important aspect of the festival throughout its history, and that this makes it easier to understand both the origins of the ritual as the celebration of a real community and its persistence as a symbol of the cohesion of the Roman alliance.

NOTES

1. Niebuhr (1847–51), i.199, also quoted in the original at Alföldi (1965), 237; Black (2003), for the Grand Tour.
2. Core bibliography: Wernerus (1888); Jullian (1899); Samter (1909); Wissowa (1912), 124–5; Latte (1960), 144–6; Alföldi (1965), 11–36; Scullard (1981), 111–15; Pasqualini (1996).
3. *Enea nel Lazio: Archeologia e Mito* (1981); Grandazzi (1988).
4. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.
5. The sack of Alba Longa: Livy 1.27–30; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.23–31, cf. 6.20.3; Enn. *Ann.* 2.xi (Skutsch). Fabius Pictor, Cato the Elder (F22 Peter), and the annalists are likely to have had the story.
6. *Schol. Bob. Cic. Planc.* 23 (Stangl. pp. 154–5): 'Namque Latinae feriae a quo fuerint institutae, dissentiunt plerique auctores. Alii ab L. Tarquinio Prisco, rege Romanorum, existimant, alii vero a Latinis priscis. Atque inter hos ipsos causa sacrificii non convenit. Nam quidam id initum ex imperato Fauni contendunt, nonnulli post obitum Latini regis <et> Aeneae, quod ii nusquam comparuerant. Itaque ipsis diebus ideo oscillare instituerunt, ut pendulis machinis agitentur: quoniam eorum corpus in terris non esset repertum, ut animae velut in aëre quaerentur. Feriarum

Latinarum sacrificio solebat hoc observari, ut <de> hostia civitates adiacentes portiunculas carni acciperent ex Albano monte secundum veterem superstitionem. Verum tam exiguum in illis civitatibus numerum hominum significant, ut desint etiam qui carnem petitum de sollemni more mittantur' (For a good many authors disagree over by whom the Latin festival was instituted. Some think it was by Tarquinius Priscus, king of the Romans, but others think it was by the Prisci Latini. And even amongst those, the reason for the sacrifice is not agreed. For some say it was founded on the instruction of Faunus, and some think it was after the death of King Latinus and Aeneas, because they were never seen again. And on those days they instituted the custom of swinging, when they are moved by swinging devices; since the body was not found on earth, like souls they were sought in the air. This custom was observed in relation to the sacrifice at the *feriae Latinae*, that of the sacrificial victim, the adjacent cities would receive portions of meat on the Alban Mount, according to ancient ritual. It shows how small the number of men in these cities were that there was even lacking men to be sent to receive the meat in this solemn custom).

On *portiunculas carni accipere* cf. Varro, *Ling.* 6.25, Cic. *Planc.* 232; Plin. *HN* 3.68 *carnem petere*; Livy, 32.1, 37.3 *carnem dare*. On Latinus, see below n. 25 for full quotation of Festus p. 212L; and note esp. 'Latinus rex, qui praelio, quod ei adversus fuit Mezentium, Caeritum regem, nusquam apparuerit iudicatusque sit Iuppiter factus Latiaris'.

7. Hes. *Theog.* 1011–16:

Κίρκη δ', Ἡελίου θυγάτηρ Ὑπεριονίδαο,
γείνατ' Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἐν φιλότῃτι.
Ἄγριον ἦδὲ Λατῖνον ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε:
[Τηλέγονον δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε διὰ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην.]
οἳ δὴ τοι μάλα τῇλε μυχῶ νήσων ἱεράων.
πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον.

(And Circe, daughter of Helios, son of Hyperion bore in love of patient-minded Odysseus, Agrios and Latinus blameless and strong; and she bore Telegonus through golden Aphrodite. And very far away in the midst of holy islands they ruled over the famous Tyrsenoi.) For Agrios as a translation of Silvius, Alföldi (1965), 239, *contra* Grandazzi (1988), 484; Wiseman (1995), for Faunus. For the position of Lavinium within the *ager Laurens*, see Ogilvie (1965), 39–40. For the Prisci Latini, see Livy, 1.3; Verg. *Aen.* 5.596 ff., with Serv. *ad loc.*; Varro, *Ling.* 7.28 (= Ennius 22 Skutsch); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.45.2; Festus p. 253L, and compare Festus p. 256L on the Prisciae Latinae Coloniae, again founded before 338. See Livy, 1.32 for Prisci Latini in the formal declaration of war, but possibly as an example only; cf. Plin. *HN* 34.20 for the Prisci Latini defeated in 338,

with Ogilvie (1965), 45: 'The name is not ancient but stems from the Latin settlement of 338, when the need to distinguish between the title "Latin" with its juridical implications which then came into force and the earlier ethnic term "Latin".' See recently Liou-Gille (1997), who also brings out the oddity of a Latin League that celebrated the *feriae Latinae*, but contained neither Rome nor Lavinium.

8. Bernardi (1964) develops this argument clearly.
9. Grandazzi (1988); cf. Pasqualini (1996). Carandini (1997) places too much faith in these stories as historically valuable. On the disappearance of the founder, see Edlund (1985).
10. On the Consualia, see Livy, 1.9; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.33.2; 2.30.3; 2.31.2; Strabo, 5.230; Ov. *Fast.* 3.199; Plut. *Rom.* 14; *Quaest. Rom.* 48; Serv. *Aen.* 8.636; Wissowa (1912), 202–3; Latte (1960), 72; Scullard (1981), 177–8; Thuillier (1987). Also Capdeville (1993), who makes an attempt to understand the connection of this festival with the rape of the Sabine women, by associating games generally with rituals of foundation and integration.
11. Latinus and Jupiter Latiaris: below n. 25. Aeneas and Jupiter or Pater Indiges: Romulus and Quirinus: Burkert (1962); Radke (1981); Porte (1981). *Curiae*: Smith (2006), 184–234.
12. Alban king list: Cornell (1995), 71; Kyriakidis (2002).
13. There are three great lists of Latin communities; Plin. *HN* 3.69 (on which see Grandazzi 1999); Cato the Elder (F58 Peter), which gives (some of) the peoples who were present in the grove of Diana at Manius Egerius Laevius' dedication as Latin *dictator*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus' list of the twenty-nine Latin cities, which agreed to wage war on Rome at the beginning of the fifth century.
14. Grandazzi (1986), esp. his conclusion, p. 90: 'La mentalité mythique, comme la nature, a horreur du vide: là où s'élevait le temple d'un sanctuaire fédéral, elle a inventé une ville, dont elle a supposé la destruction pour mieux en établir l'existence.' More on the archaeology in Pasqualini (1996); note also Cicero's possibly synthetic rage at Clodius' building in this area at *pro Milone* 85, where he talks of altars and sacred groves. This article has not been able to take account of Grandazzi's monumental recent study (2008), that the Romans used the ritual to demonstrate their openness to the world and their vocation to dominate it, is consonant with my own argument.
15. See the use of *edicere* at Livy 41.16.1, 5. *Feriae conceptivae*: Varro, *Ling.* 6.29 shows that this renders the days of the festival non-comitial.
16. Attendance before military campaign: Dio Cass. 46.33.4 (43 BC); Livy 21.63.5: C. Flaminius (217 BC) slips out of the city, and is condemned; cf. 22.1.6 where Flaminius' possession of the *auspicia* is questioned; 25.12.1 (212 BC) consuls and praetors detained until the festival is over;

44.19.4, cf. 44.22.16—an early festival (168 BC)—cf. 42.35 late celebration (171 BC).

Announcement by consuls—use of *edicere* at Livy 41.16.1 and 41.16.5. There was a house on the Alban Mount where the consuls stayed; Dio Cass. 54.29.7. Requirement on all magistrates: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.87.6, the Latin festival is the only day that tribunes of the plebs are allowed outside the city limits. *Praefectus urbi*: when the officers of state are all away at the Latin festival, a *praefectus urbi* is appointed, and in the Empire was called *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum*. See Wernerus (1888), 41–56; Mommsen (1887–8), 661–74. Gell. *NA* 14.8 gives the disagreement between Junius' view that the prefect could not hold a meeting of the senate (because he was not a senator, had not the right of speaking in the senate, and was below the legal age for admission to the senate), but Varro and Ateius Capito say he did have that right, and Capito compares them with tribunes of the plebs who had the right 'although before the bill of Atinius they were not senators'. See Wernerus (1888), 41–56. *Lex curiata*: Versnel (1970), 319–55; Smith (2006), 217–23, and note the issue over Flaminius' right to take the *auspicia*.—Simón (2011) focuses on the relevance of the festival for consular *imperium*.

17. For burials, see Smith (1996), 244–5.
18. Bovillae: Lucus Ferentinae: Ampolo (1981); Grandazzi (1996). The sources are given by Ampolo, and the crucial one for the location is Festus p. 276L, taken from Cincius' book on the power of the consuls, which is a very important passage: 'Albanos rerum potitos usque ad Tullum regem: Alba deinde diruta usque ad P. Decium Murem consulem, populos Latinos ad caput Ferentinae, quod est sub monte Albano, consulere solitos, et imperium communi consilio administrare. (The Albans were in charge of affairs until the reign of Tullus; then when Alba had been destroyed until the consulship of P. Decius Mus, the Latin peoples were accustomed to take counsel at Caput Ferentinae, below the Alban Mount, and exercise command with a common aim.) Decius Mus' consulship was in 340 BC, and marked the first defeat of the Latins, and this passage is therefore crucial evidence for the dissolution of the Latin League.
19. Truce: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.16.16–17: 'Nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum solenne, concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum mundus patet, nefas est proelium sumere: quia nec Latinarum tempore, quo publice quondam indutiae inter populum Romanum Latinosque firmatae sunt, inchoari bellum decebat, nec Saturni festo, qui sine ullo tumultu bellico creditur imperasse, nec patente mundo, quod sacrum Diti patri et Proserpinae dicatum est...' (Now when the Latiar, that is the festival of the Latin rites, is proclaimed, and during the days of the Saturnalia, and also when the *mundus* is open, it is forbidden to fight; because it is inappropriate to begin a war either at the

- time of the Latin festival, when a truce was formally undertaken between the Roman people and the Latins, or at the festival of Saturnus, who is believed to have ruled without any warlike unrest, or when the *mundus* is open, which is said to be sacred to Father Dis and Proserpine.)
20. Fanum Voltumnae: Livy, 4.23; 25; 61; 5.1.4–5; 5.17; 6.2; Versnel (1970), 275–9; Gleba (2002–3), 99–100, for a possible identification; Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 90–1; Briquel (2003).
 21. White bull: Arn. 2.68. Participation: see n. 6; the distribution is known as *visceratio*, on which see Kajava (1998) and Scheid (2005), 264–74, suggesting that the language and action of sacrificial distribution was influential in other spheres, see p. 274: ‘je pense qu’il est probable que l’institution sacrificielle a fourni à la cité l’atelier conceptuel d’où sont sortis ses principaux étalons de valeur’.
 22. Cic. *Div.* 1.18 (quoting his own poem on the consulship). Role of women: Cic. *Att.* 1.3.1.
 23. Bonfire: Luc. 1.550, 5.402.
 24. Livy, 5.17.2 (396 BC) at the instigation of the captive seer who foretold the necessity to put a drainage channel into the Alban lake: ‘ingens inde haberi captivius uates coeptus, eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigii Albani procurationem ac deos rite placandos coepere; inuentumque tandem est ubi neglectas caerimonias intermissumque sollemne di arguerent: nihil profecto aliud esse quam magistratus uitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in Albano monte non rite concepissee; unam expiationem eorum esse ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de integro repeterentur et interregnum iniretur. ea ita facta sunt ex senatus consulto’. (From that moment the captured seer began to be considered important, and the military tribunes Cornelius and Postumius used him to commence the expiation of the prodigy and the ritual appeasement of the gods; it was at length discovered that when the gods accused them of neglected ceremonies and an interrupted ritual, they meant nothing other than that the magistrates had incorrectly declared the Latin festival and improperly undertaken the sacrifice on the Alban Mount. The one expiation for this was for the military tribunes to abdicate their office, and the auspices to be taken afresh and an interregnum begun. These things were done by decree of the senate.) 32.1.9 (199 BC): Legates from Ardea complain that they did not receive their portion of the meat; cf. 37.3.4 for same offence committed against Laurentes; 40.45.1–2; after a violent storm; 41.16.1 (176 BC): ‘Latinae feriae fuere ante diem tertium nonas Maias, in quibus quia in una hostia magistratus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quiritium, religioni fuit. id cum ad senatum relatum esset senatusque ad pontificum collegium reiecisset, pontificibus, quia non recte factae Latinae essent, instaurari Latinas placuit, Lanuvinos, quorum opera instaurandae

essent, hostias praebere.’ (The Latin festival was held on the third day before the Nones of May, and a religious scruple arose because at the sacrifice of one victim the Lanuvian magistrate had not prayed for the *populus Romanus Quiritium*. When this was reported to the senate and the senate had referred it to the college of pontifices, the pontifices decided to repeat the Latin games, because they had not been properly conducted, and that the Lanuvians, because of whom the repetition was necessary, should provide the sacrificial victims.) Generally on *instauratio*, see Eisenhut 1974.

25. Festus p. 212L: ‘Oscillantes, ait Cornificius, ab eo quod os celare sint soliti personis propter verecundiam, qui eo genere lusus utebantur. Causa autem eius iactationis proditur . . . Latinus rex, qui praelio, quod ei[s] fuit adversus Mezentium, Caeritum regem, nusquam apparuerit, iudicatusque sit Iuppiter factus Latiaris. Itaque †scit eius dies† feriatos liberos servosque requirere eum non solum in terris, sed etiam qua vide [n]tur caelum posse adiri per oscillationem, velut imaginem quondam vitae humanae, in qua altissima interdum <ad infima>, infima ad summum efferuntur. Atque ideo memoriam quoque redintegrari initio acceptae vitae per motus cunarum lactisque alimentum, quia per eos dies feriarum et oscillis moveantur, et lactata potione utantur. Nec desunt qui exemplum Graecorum secutos putent Ital[ic]os, quod illi quoque, iniuria interfecto Icaro, <cum> Erigone filia eius dolore impulsasuspensio perisset, per simulationem . . .’ (Cornificius says that the *oscillantes* are so called from the fact that people who enjoyed this kind of game used to cover their face with masks out of modesty . . . The cause of this display is given as follows . . . King Latinus, who in the battle he had with Mezentius king of Caere, disappeared, was adjudged to have become Jupiter Latiaris. And so on that day (?) freedmen and slaves seek him not on earth, but even in a way by which it seems that they can reach the sky through swinging, which is also an image of human life, in which the highest moments become the depths and the depths are carried to the heights. And it is believed to recall the beginning of life through the motions of the cot and milk, because on those days people use swings and drink milk. And there are those who think the Italians followed the example of the Greeks, for they too, when Icarus was killed by injury, and his daughter Erigone was impelled by grief to hang herself, by simulation . . .).
26. Voisin (1979); Kyle (1998), 36–8; 131–2; Cook (1904), 364 (‘undoubtedly relics of human sacrifice offered to tree-gods’); Ehlers (1942). There may be a further layer hidden in two very obscure references in Festus; p. 230L to *piscatorium aes* which was given on the Alban Mount for fish, and p. 274, 276L where we learn that fish were given to Volcanus instead of human beings, and on this see Cecamore 1996.

27. Livy, 1.31.3.
28. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.95.
29. Plut. *Cam.* 42 'Coming together on the following day, they voted a temple to be built to Concordia (Homonoia), as Camillus had vowed, visible from the forum and assembly, and an extra day to be added to the so-called Latin festival to make four, and for all Romans to offer sacrifice with garlands on their heads.'
30. Richard (1977) arguing that Dionysius is reflecting a Sullan move to reduce the role of the tribunes in favour of the aediles in the Ludi Plebei; Bernstein (1998), 64–5.
31. Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.4.2 'dies errant duo, qui post Latinas habentur religiosi. Ceterum confectum erat Latiar.' Scipio spent the holiday at home; Cic. *Rep.* 1.14. For the chariot race, see Plin. *HN* 7.28.45; Malavolta (1996). Many modern interpretations of a longer festival have depended on Livy, 45.3, where the text is in fact in doubt, and we rely heavily on Mommsen's reading (1864–79), ii.106–7; see Briscoe's edition for the text; see also Dio Cass. 48.43.4 (45 BC) where the *praefectus urbi* chooses a successor, who chooses a successor, implying a three-day celebration. A November date for the *feriae Latinae* in 168 BC would imply an *instauratio*; see Scullard (1981), 111–15, for the single day of celebration. See Dio Cass. 53.33.3 for evidence that by 27 BC the *feriae* lasted more than one day in total.
32. Etruscan origins of games: Kyle (1998), 44–9; symbolic universe: Clavel-Lévêque (1984; 1986).
33. Cic. *Att.* 1.3.1; Cic. *Fam.* 8.6.3; Dio Cass. 46.33.4–5; 47.40; 49.16.2, and note also 39.30.4 for the senate not attending the second iteration of the games in 56 BC for fear; cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.4.2.
34. Tert. *Apol.* 9; Min. Fel. 30.4; Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 29; Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 26.2; Symmachus *Relat.* 1.396; Porph. *Abst.* 2.56, all state that human sacrifice took place. Rives (1995) for discussion.
35. Degrassi (1947), 143–55; see also Mommsen (1864–79), ii.97–112.
36. Decemvirate and Camillus: Wernerus (1888), 40, 58.
37. Caes. *B Civ* 3.2; cf. Luc. 5.400.
38. *Fast. Cap.* for Q. Ogulnius L. f. A. n. Gallus; Thiel (1954), 198–205; Lazenby (1996), 77–8.
39. Livy, 5.19.1; 32.1.9; 37.3.4; 40.45.2; 41.16, and see McBain (1982); Levene (1993); Dio 46.33.4–5.
40. Pomponius Secundus: Tac. *Ann.* 13.43, probably a reference to Camillus Scribonianus' revolt in Dalmatia.
41. Full epigraphic evidence in Granino Cecere (1996); this reveals 'sacerdotes Cabenses, pontifices Albani, dictatores Albani, salii Albani, and virgines Vestales Albanae'.

42. An unknown poet wrote 'De Jove qui voluit Latio sperare salutem': *Carmen contra Paganos* 102.
43. Weinstock (1971), 323; Dio 41.39; *Schol. Pers.* 6.55 for the story of Bovillae founded where a bull about to be sacrificed was caught; cf. Non. 122 M s.v. Hillias.
44. Weinstock (1971), 318–31. Sources: Suet. *Iul.* 79.1; Dio Cass. 44.4.3; *Fast. Triumph.* 'ovans . . . ex monte Albano VII K. Febr'.
45. Sumi (2005), 65–9.
46. Caesar's connection of the *ovatio* with the *feriae Latinae* is unique; for other *ovationes*, see Dio 48.31.3 for Octavian's entry into Rome after the Perusine War; *Fast. Triumph.* for Octavian and Antony both celebrating peace in 40 (arguably before one went to war with Parthia and the other with Sextus Pompeius); Tac. *Ann.* 3.47.4 for Tiberius refusing an *ovatio*; Dio Cass. 59.16–17 for Caligula also refusing. The closest parallel may have been Drusus in 9 BC when a second performance of the *feriae Latinae* was planned to celebrate his German victories (Dio Cass. 55.2.4–5), but he died too soon; see Swan (2004), 48–9; Rich (1990), 220.
47. Coarelli *LTUR*, s.v. Auguraculum; Cecamore (1996).
48. Oakley (1997–2005), ii. 540–2.
49. On *visceratio*, see above n. 21; Serv. *Aen.* 1.211: "in Albano Latinis visceratio dabatur", id est caro ('In Albanus, a *visceratio* was given to the Latins'—that is, meat).
50. Alban triumph: Brennan (1996); of the four we know in 231, 211, 197, and 172 BC, none was connected with the *feriae Latinae*, reinforcing the unusual nature of Caesar's actions in 44, and the planned celebration for Drusus.

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The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area

Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity

John Scheid

Roman religion was a religion without revelation or dogma, and interpretation, if vital to daily life, was never necessary, permanent, or essential. In order to discover something of the doctrine of Roman religion, one cannot rely on a book or a set of dogmas. One has to extract implicit meanings from all the different elements of the cult: rituals, rules, places, and calendars. The questioning of these and the parallel reading of interpretations and commentaries given by contemporary scholars have produced a range of responses. Such answers may sometimes be very close to ancestral tradition, or be very far out, depending on the approach chosen by the scholars. Nevertheless, despite the varying interpretations constructed around them by ancient scholarship, the rituals themselves delivered implicit meanings which could be considered as a Roman tradition.

One of the elements of rituals is the festivals, i.e. collective celebrations, which are recognized by the whole community, and sometimes celebrated by the whole community. This paper has the purpose of showing how festivals from one area in Rome were able to give an implicit representation of Roman identity. Religious celebrations in this area seem to connect in order to create and transmit collective ancestral statements about Rome and the Romans. The paper does not restrict itself to days which were official festivals of the Roman people (*feriae*), i.e. of the Roman state, but deals with all the collective celebrations we know of. Some are of greater significance than others,

although they are not necessarily *feriae*, but only, so to speak, sacrifices. Nonetheless, the festivals examined are mainly public, because the evidence about private festivals celebrated outdoors is insufficient.

The Roman religion and calendar were not universal, and those involved did not celebrate in all holy places the progress and commemoration of one and the same myth, like the birth and passion of Jesus Christ. Roman religion was polytheistic, with sacrifices and festivals dedicated to the various gods in their respective temples in specific parts of Rome. One could obviously study festivals in relation to calendars, by the time sequence. But in doing so, one would have only an enumeration of a sequence of religious obligations, which gives no clue to the wider statements that these religious celebrations are able to construct and transmit. Moreover, an analysis of the whole calendar would be too fastidious, at least in a short paper. Therefore, one has to reduce the number of festivals, and in order to have a ritual system capable of conveying complex meanings, the best way is to analyse all the celebrations carried out in one area of Rome. There are a few public squares that could come into account for this kind of inquiry, such as the Capitol, the Forum Romanum, and the Forum Boarium. The Capitol would be a convenient place: there is plenty of evidence, even in the Capitoline sanctuary various cult places are found, though perhaps too numerous for a brief study; besides, many Capitoline festivals or celebrations are mere names. The festivals and celebrations we know of in some detail do nonetheless deliver some theological statements. If I am right,¹ nearly all celebrations and gods represented in the Capitoline area were strongly linked to Jupiter, and reflected one aspect of his actions: his way of acting or the result of his actions. The Forum Romanum area, on the other hand, is peculiar. First, the gods and festivals which are connected to the Forum are not so many, and secondly, they relate to the political and social identity of Rome. The Forum Boarium area may be a better choice. There is quite a lot of evidence available, numerous temples, and enough material to allow an inquiry into the construction and reception of implicit meanings about the world and the society, something which one could consider as an element of a traditional doctrine transmitted by Roman religion.

What do we know about festivals and *feriae* in the Forum Boarium area? The Forum Boarium area is taken here as the space limited by the Tiber to the west, the Forum Holitorium to the north, Circus Maximus to the east, and the Aventine to the south (see Fig. 10.1).² The known celebrations in this area are:³

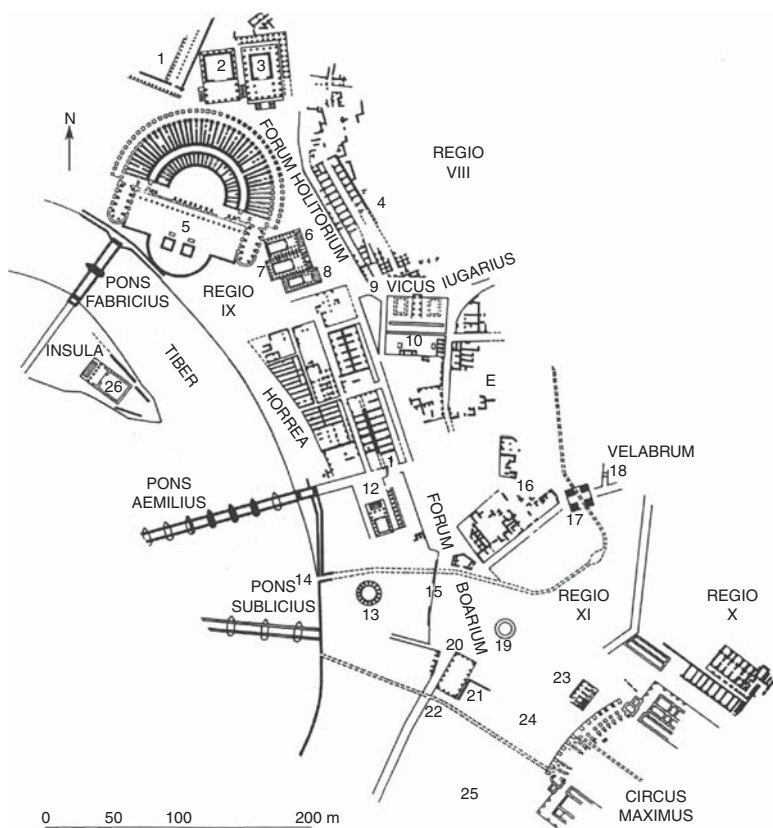


Fig. 10.1. Rome, map of the Forum Boarium area: 1. Porticus of Octavia; 2. Temple of Apollo; 3. Temple of Bellona; 4. Porticus Triumphalis; 5. Theatre of Marcellus; 6. Temple of Janus; 7. Temple of Juno Sospita; 8. Temple of Spes; 9. Porta Carmentalis; 10. Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta; 11. Porta Flumentana; 12. Temple of Portunus; 13. Temple of Hercules Victor; 14. Cloaca Maxima; 15. Republican walls; 16. Imperial buildings; 17. Quadrifrons arch; 18. Arch of the Argentarii; 19. Aedes Aemiliana Herculis; 20. Porticus of S. Maria in Cosmedin; 21. Ara Maxima; 22. Porta Trigemina; 23. Mithraeum; 24. Aedes Pompeiana Herculis; 25. Temple of Ceres; 26. Temple of Aesculapius.

1 January	Aesculapius on the Tiber Island, the <i>vicomagistri</i> take up their duties in all the <i>compita</i> of Rome (empire)
Around 1 January	Compitalia in the different <i>compita</i> , for example at the Temple of Mater Matuta, and on the Tiber Island
11 and 15 January	Carmentalia
15 February	Lupercalia, the famous race of the <i>luperci</i> , touches our area
March	no testimony for an official festival on the Forum Boarium, but there are few festivals during this month
1 April	Venus Verticordia
12–19 April	<i>Ludi</i> of Ceres, Cerealia on 19 April
28 April	Floralia, <i>ludi</i> lasting 6 days
1 May	Bona Dea
14 May	Argei
11 June	Matralia, Fortuna
16–24 June	<i>Graeca sacra</i> of Ceres; <i>inventio</i> of Proserpina and sacrifice on 24 June
13 July	Circus Maximus: <i>Ludi</i> of Apollo
20–30 July	Circus Maximus: <i>Ludi</i> of the Victory of Caesar
12 August	sacrifice at the Ara Maxima
13 August	‘anniversaries’ of the Temple of Hercules, the Temple of Flora, and the Temple of Diana on the Aventine
17 August	Portunus
19 August	Venus Obsequens (Aventine)
4 September	Fasting of Ceres
14 September	Epulum Jovis and <i>Ludi Romani</i> . Procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus
1–12 October	<i>Ludi Augustales</i>
26 October–1 November	<i>Ludi Victoriae Sullanae</i>
14 November	Epulum Jovis and <i>Ludi Plebeii</i> . Procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus
November	Annual sacrifice in connection with the burials of the Gallus, Galla, Graecus, Graeca

21 December	sacrifice to Hercules and Ceres
23 December	Velabrum, <i>parentatio</i> for Acca Larentia
(unknown day)	Pudicitia Patricia

To these regular celebrations, we can add irregular festivals, both public and private. From time to time, mainly during the three last centuries BCE, triumphal processions crossed the zone, followed by huge banquets celebrated around the Ara Maxima. We do not know that much about private celebrations in this area, but at least private sacrifices and banquets are recorded at the Ara Maxima, as travellers and business people often made dedications and vows to Hercules; a *decuma* of their profits was consecrated to the god after their successful return. No cult or god will be omitted; all the known festivals and sacrifices in the Forum Boarium area will be analysed. Obviously, there are a certain number of celebrations missed, mainly the private festivals or those of the foreign communities, but as always in our field, we shall have to do with the evidence available.

What can we extract from this sequence of festivals and celebrations? A first glance can be directed at the rituals related to the main building in the area, the Circus Maximus. I will only consider the end of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire. A certain number of *ludi* were celebrated in the Circus:⁴

13 July	Circus Maximus <i>ludi</i> of Apollo
20–30 July	Circus Maximus <i>ludi</i> of the Victory of Caesar
21 August	Consualia, <i>ludi</i> in the Circus Maximus
14 September	Epulum Jovis and Ludi Romani. Procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus
12 October	Ludi Augustales
26 October–1 November	Ludi Victoriae Sullanae
14 November	Epulum Jovis and Ludi Plebei. Procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus

These *Ludi* stress that the whole area was central and connected to most of the great public celebrations and triumphs. This was a first characteristic of the festivals celebrated in this area. Forum Boarium was one of the most official spaces in Rome, and the collective cults celebrated on this forum directly relate to the Roman identity.

Moreover, the *Ludi* of Consus on 21 August commonly refer to the origins of Rome and its people, as the aetiology reveals that the Romans abducted the Sabine girls and women during this ancient festival. The reference to the origins of Rome is actually one of the characteristics of the area: Romulus and Remus supposedly took the primordial *auspicia* from the Palatine and the Aventine; and the She-Wolf also fed the twins at the flank of the Palatine Hill. These references to the origins of Rome were stressed every year by the Luperci, whose race passed through the Forum Boarium area. This area also connects with Hercules, whose mythology goes back to pre-Roman history, as does the Temple of Carmenta on the northern limit of the area referred to here. Mythology also inserts Portunus into these patterns. Carmenta, whose temple stood close to the Theatre of Marcellus, is said in Roman mythology⁵ to have been the Arcadian wife of Evander, and supposedly announced immortality to Hercules (Solinus 1,10). According to the myth, Portunus, who had his temple on the bank of the Tiber, was originally Melicertes who came to Rome with his mother Ino. Both were kindly received by Carmenta, who predicted them immortality under the names of Matuta and Portunus. The Temple of Mater Matuta was situated close to the sanctuary of Carmenta. One can see that mythology connected all the religious monuments and cults located around and in the Forum Boarium.

11 and 15 January	Carmentalia
15 February	Lupercalia
17 August	Portunus
21 August	Consualia, <i>ludi</i>

The second characteristic of the Forum Boarium area relates to ritual. The first Romans were not highly respectful of the traditions of hospitality, as the Sabine story tells. But they went even further, by sacrificing foreign visitors to the gods. This practice is supposed to have been abolished by Hercules, who taught the Romans to honour the gods by acceptable offerings, that is non-human offerings.⁶ The same feature is repeated by the interpretations of the obscure Argei ritual in May, when twenty-seven puppets, supposedly a substitute for twenty-seven Greeks, were thrown into the Tiber.⁷ An irregular celebration points in the same direction: in times of great danger, a couple of Greeks and Gauls were buried alive on the Forum Boarium,

as a sacrifice to the gods of the underworld;⁸ this type of sacrifice was celebrated at least twice, in 226 and 216 BC; similarly every year in November the pontifices performed rituals on the place where the burials had taken place,⁹ whose precise location unfortunately is not known.

14 May	Argei
12 August	correct sacrifice with animal victims
November	sacrifice in connection with the burials of the Gallus, Galla, Graecus, Graeca

Thus, the Forum Boarium area is related to the primordia of Rome, and to the barbaric conduct of the (first) Romans; it would seem that these characteristics offered a framework for the other festivals and events. Once we have considered the common background of all the rituals located in this area, as well as the *Ludi* and the celebrations linked to festivals whose centres lay elsewhere, on the Capitol, the Forum or the Campus Martius, the remaining festivals and sacrifices of the Forum Boarium area, which have not yet been considered, are:

11 and 15 January	Carmentalia
1 April	Venus Verticordia
12–19 April	<i>ludi</i> of Ceres, Cerealia on April 19
28 April	Floralia, <i>ludi</i> lasting 6 days
1 May	Bona Dea
11 June	Matralia, Fortuna
16–24 June	<i>Graeca sacra</i> of Ceres; <i>inventio</i> of Proserpina and sacrifice on 24 June
12 August	sacrifice at the Ara Maxima
13 August	‘anniversaries’ of the temples of Hercules, Flora, and Diana on the Aventine
19 August	Venus Obsequens (Aventine)
4 September	fasting of Ceres
21 December	sacrifice to Hercules and Ceres
23 December	Velabrum, <i>parentatio</i> for Acca Larentia
?	Pudicitia Patricia

One immediately sees that Hercules is the only male god in this list of celebrations, and his place is central. Portunus, whose temple is on the margin of the area, is rather related to the topography than to the conceptual frame of the Forum Boarium. He is the god of landing, entering the harbour and coming ashore, and so he is located close to these activities, but in some ways he is also part of the conceptual frame, as his presence is linked to Carmenta and Mater Matuta. However, the cult of Portunus apparently did not offer any possibility for enriching the representation of gender, contrary to Hercules.

The rituals celebrated in the vast Herculean area are known through a number of written sources. I shall only deal with these briefly; one can refer to J. Bayet's *Les Origines de l'Hercule romain* for a more in-depth understanding.¹⁰ Most of the evidence about the Ara Maxima is related to the great annual sacrifice to Hercules, described in the mythical records and in the learned commentaries of the annual sacrifice on 12 August; on this date the *praetor urbanus* offered a heifer in the name of the Roman people (*publice*), or to the triumphal banquets.¹¹ These ceremonies of public cult must have been popular, at least among the male Roman population, because the banquets at the Ara Maxima were apparently the only ones¹² followed by a common sacrificial banquet. The meat was neither sold at butcher shops nor distributed among authorized persons. It was prepared and consumed on the spot by all the assistants, so that nothing should remain by the evening. Incidentally, this rule guaranteed the strict reservation of sacrificial meat to the male citizens.

Such a rule was likewise valid for private sacrifices offered at the Great Altar. All who had accomplished enterprises successfully, commercial or otherwise, offered a *decuma* of their gain to the god, like the hero himself had done; Hercules once vowed to offer the *decuma* from Geryon's cattle to Jupiter if he would recover it. As the Temple of Hercules was located in the middle of the Roman harbour, it is quite obvious that most of the *decumae* offered to him originated from commercial enterprises. However, the situation seems to have been even more complex. There is no sense in speculating on the influence that different gods had on Hercules, on the rivalries of gods at the Forum Boarium, or to conjecture—as J. Bayet did¹³—a kind of evolution of Hercules from a god of merchants to a god of warriors. G. Wissowa already stated that there is in fact no difference between a *decuma* deriving from a commercial venture and one deriving from a military campaign.¹⁴ To understand this, it is useful to specify a field

or way of action appropriate to Hercules. Who is he—a god of trade? No, in that case he would be nothing more than another form of Mercury, and Roman polytheism does not work that way. On the other hand, it is not commercial enterprise that Hercules protects, even though before leaving on a journey of this kind, vows were made to Hercules in terms of the so-called *decuma* of profit. But you only need to consider the sacrifice offered to Hercules *before* leaving on a journey¹⁵ to understand that the god protected travelling in general, and especially commercial trips. The story of M. Octavius Hersennus, reported by the antiquarian jurist Masurius Sabinus at the beginning of the Empire,¹⁶ shows that Hercules protected risky travels more than the operation of buying and selling, i.e. the circulation of consumer goods and gains, which was the proper field of Mercury. The epithet Victor of the god honoured by Octavius, recalls the first and most recent victories of Hercules ('argumentum ueterum uictoriarum Herculis et commemoratio nouae historiae'). The Hercules of the Ara Maxima is above all the god of victorious returns. He brings back the winner from a distant and potentially hazardous journey, regardless of whether his victory simply concerns a project in a remote place or an actual military campaign, where victory would be of even greater importance; hence his connections with triumph. This is the first characteristic of Hercules: looking after the risky business of male citizens, as shown for example by a *viator* of one of the quaestors addressed to him in a dedicatory inscription in AD 81, 'victor pollens potens inuictus' ('victorious, powerful, mighty, undefeated').¹⁷ These types of virtues can altogether be regarded as significantly defining male qualities, as well as reflecting the rudeness of the male citizens. Indeed, these qualities reach back to the very beginning of history, when the hero came to the site of Rome and taught the first inhabitants the right way to perform sacrifices.

Therefore, Hercules connects the two major qualities stressed by myth and celebration in the Forum Boarium area, namely a victorious return from strictly male activities, and civilizing the first, barbaric inhabitants of the place. All these may be considered as male aspects, represented and also controlled by the god. But there is more. As we know by myth and ritual rule, women were excluded from the cult and festivals of Hercules. One of the myths attached to the place explains this ban.¹⁸ When he was leading the oxen of Geryon through Italy, Hercules was very thirsty. He asked a woman for water, but she refused, because on that day the women celebrated the festival of the

goddess of women, and divine law prohibited males touching objects supposed to be served in this female cult. In response, Hercules, who actually was himself about to sacrifice, ordained that women should not take part in the sacrifices at this altar. This hostility between Hercules and women is remarkable, for, according to Festus,¹⁹ there was a shrine to Pudicitia Patricia, representing the major matrimonial virtues of discretion and restraint, close to the Aemilian round-temple. We do not know the day when Pudicitia was honoured, but her presence is very surprising. And the series of female presences does not stop here. A glimpse at the sequence of celebrations makes it evident that the Herculean events are literally surrounded by female festivals:

?	Pudicitia Patricia
11 and 15 January	Carmentalia
1 April	Venus Verticordia
12–19 April	<i>ludi</i> of Ceres, Cerealia on the 19th
28 April	Floralia, <i>ludi</i> lasting 6 days
1 May	Bona Dea
11 June	Matralia, Fortuna
16–24 June	<i>Graeca sacra</i> of Ceres; <i>inventio</i> of Proserpina and sacrifice on 24 June
13 August	‘anniversaries’ of the temples of Flora and of Diana
19 August	Venus Obsequens (Aventine)
4 September	Fasting of Ceres
21 December	sacrifice to Hercules and Ceres
23 December	Velabrum, <i>parentatio</i> for Acca Larentia
?	Stimula

Only Bona Dea had no temple in the immediate surroundings of the Ara Maxima, whereas all the other goddesses did. However, Bona Dea was linked to Hercules by myth, as the ritual rules of her festival are in some way at the origin of the cult at the Ara Maxima and to the exclusion of women. Significantly, the anniversaries of the Flora and Diana temples fall on the same day as the anniversary of the Temple of Hercules Invictus. We must add to this list, following J. Bayet (who speaks about topographical alliances), Stimula, whose grove and celebrations have been located by O. De Cazenove close to the north-western slope of the Aventine, and the Ara Maxima.²⁰ There is also a common sacrifice to Hercules and his neighbour Ceres.

All these festivals and celebrations belong to the *matronae*, and male citizens were by and large excluded from them. Female goddesses such as Mater Matuta and Carmenta are also linked to the origins of Rome; Carmenta takes part in the myth of Hercules' arrival in Rome—she even announces his immortality to come—and is thereby connected to the origin of the Ara Maxima cult. In other words, a wide spectrum of matronal cults and celebrations encircled closely the god who more than all the others symbolized male qualities, in an area that was strongly connected with triumph.

The cults and celebrations of the Forum Boarium, such as the cultic connection evident on 13 August, seem to show that Roman tradition progressively understood, and certainly constructed, an opposition between male and female qualities; reaching back to the origins, this opposition was stressed by ritual exclusions during most of the festivals taking place in the area.

Hercules

women excluded from rituals

everyone but women invited

cold, cheerful, triumphant

brutal force

acts 'outside'

warrior

in the present

day, quiet

Matronal goddesses

Bona Dea, *Graeca sacra* of Ceres, Pudicitia: men excluded

secret cults, limited to women and slaves

mourning, complaints

seduction (Venus, Flora, Acca)

acts 'inside'

children, birth (Carmenta, Mater Matuta, Diana)

prophecy (Carmenta)

night, agitation, trance, dancing

The reciprocal qualities of Hercules and all the matronal divinities are opposed. It is noteworthy that if on the one hand women were excluded from the Ara Maxima, on the other hand men were excluded from the cults of Bona Dea and the *Graeca sacra* of Ceres. The same can be deduced from the evidence related to the cults of Mater Matuta, and obviously of Pudicitia Patricia. The rituals of Hercules were celebrated in broad daylight, the ones of the matrons usually behind closed doors at night-time. One could object that this was also the case for most of the civic cults compared with matronal deities. True, but what is really striking and interesting at the Forum Boarium, is that in the same area some cults were celebrated in the

daytime and were open to everyone, whereas others were held at night-time. The cult of Hercules is calm and triumphal, whereas those of the matronal deities are mostly in some way related to mourning, screaming, singing, and dancing, and sometimes, as was the case of Stimula, to maenadism. Mourning was not patronized at all by the matronal deities, but existed only in certain cults. These goddesses, like Mater Matuta, Carmenta, Diana, Ceres, and Flora, were rather related to childbirth and the growth of plants. The famous episode of the abduction of the Sabines at the Circus Maximus is related to the birth of the Roman people. Moreover, Carmenta had prophetic abilities or knowledge of the future, which Hercules did not possess. According to one of the stories,²¹ it was Carmenta who announced to him his destiny of becoming immortal. Indeed, this prophecy actually was the origin of the cult which Hercules founded at the Forum Boarium, as if the deities had presided at the birth of the god and his cult. To understand this, one must know that Carmenta (as well as Diana) was supposed to protect delivery. Therefore, the concern with Hercules, in regard to Carmenta or the ritual relation with his cult (Diana), can induce us to consider that the goddesses presided at the birth of the cult of Hercules. While most of the matronal deities are related to slaves, like Fortuna, Diana, and, to a certain degree, Mater Matuta, slaves were excluded from the Ara Maxima. Hercules concerned mainly free men and citizens in arms, returning victorious from distant activities. According to the myths of origin, most of the female deities around the Forum Boarium came more or less from far away, similar to Hercules, who worked mainly abroad. However, once established, the goddesses acted in Rome. While Hercules patronized the gains from male enterprises connected with travel, the matronal deities were supposed to care about the sphere of nature in Roman life, such as Mater Matuta for sunlight, Ceres for growth, or Flora for the forming of flowers. They sometimes protected worshippers from contact with savagery and hostility in unsafe places, while managing the transition from one to the other, like Diana. Hercules is not content with resting at the border, he goes beyond and braves the monstrous.

Another important detail about Hercules should be added. He is a god who not only represents the main male qualities, but also supposedly puts a limit on male violence from the beginning. In a certain way, the same thing can be said about his female partners. There are contradictory relations that existed between the matronal deities

themselves, in connection with Hercules. Pudicitia, Ceres, Mater Matuta, and the others kept a strict distance from men and Hercules, conforming to female discretion and modesty, and even excluded the hero from the sanctuary of Bona Dea. Conversely other goddesses or mythical figures of the area, such as Venus, Flora, and above all Acca Larentia, behaved differently—the latter benefactress of the Roman people especially exercised a rather generous form of maternal modesty, locked up with Hercules in the temple of the Forum Boarium. However, it is true that she was not yet a matron then, but became one thanks to the generosity of the god. Juvenal also presents Pudicitia Patricia in strict opposition to maternal behaviour.²² This contrasting behaviour continues up to the excesses indulged in, for example, in the grove and cult of Stimula in 186 BC. Hence, the sacrilegious rituals of the first male inhabitants of the place, humanized by Hercules, opposed certain maenadic or feminine moral lapses, which had to be controlled by the goddesses patronizing this area.

I do not want to speculate further in favour of this kind of construction, given that precise evidence is lacking. Nevertheless, despite the gaps in our information, it is clear that the Romans understood and constructed this relation between the festivals of Hercules and those of the surrounding goddesses. By developing certain cults, as well as interpreting in a particular way the combination of closeness and opposition, they exposed what was supposed to refer to the foundation of Rome. These celebrations show how polytheistic ritualism worked and how a set of celebrations and interpretations was capable of producing statements about the world and society, which one could consider as an element of traditional 'doctrine' transmitted by Roman religion.

The festive (and even the monumental) landscape allowed Romans to construct a series of contrasts between men and women, between male and female. To show that this meaningful complementarity or opposition was sensible to the Romans, I only have to quote the mutation of the Bacchic cult, celebrated in the sacred grove of Stimula. If it came to be regarded as so scandalous, this was due to the fact that the rituals traditionally destined for matrons, spread to boys and young men. This commingling of sexes filled the Roman elite with indignation. As always in antiquity, ancestral tradition did not create abstract categories like male or female. Such conceptions were well known to antiquarians and philosophers, who explained customs

and analysed traditions, as we still do today. But in active religion, there were no explicit statements. Those who were looking for deeper meaning had to discern significant contrasts in elements progressively created by tradition around different aspects of gender. This festive landscape was constructed step by step and its qualities were analysed and explained by antiquarians and poets. One could suggest that this construction started from the neighbourhood of Hercules and the three matronal goddesses Mater Matuta, Fortuna, and Carmenta.²³ And perhaps it was so. In this way the area of the Forum Boarium during the Empire became a zone where the interpreters could read, and can read even now, a kind of reflection on the functions and respective status of gender, which somehow can be found inscribed in space and time.

NOTES

1. Scheid (2005).
2. Map in Coarelli (1988), 8. See also Claridge (1998), 42–265; Steinby (1993–9), *passim*.
3. For all the evidence, see the respective pages in Wissowa (1912); Bayet (1926); Degrassi (1963).
4. For evidence, cf. Wissowa (1912), 449–67; Degrassi (1963); Bernstein (1998).
5. Cf. Wissowa (1912), 110–2; 220–1.
6. Ov. *Fast.* 5.629–34; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 32.
7. Cf. n. 4.
8. Oros. 4.13.3; Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 3; Liv. 22.57.6; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83.
9. Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 3.
10. Bayet 1926. The book should be rewritten, because it tries to explain everything historically, which is not very helpful, as nearly all the tradition is mythical.
11. Wissowa 1912, 274–5; Plin. *HN* 34.33: ‘Fuisse autem statuariam artem familiarem Italiae quoque et uetustam, indicant Hercules ab Euandro sacratus, ut produnt, in foro Boario, qui triumphalis uocatur atque per triumphos uestitur habitu triumphali’ (That the art of statuary was familiar to Italy also and of long standing there is indicated by the statue of Hercules in the Cattle Market, said to have been dedicated by Evander, which is called the ‘Hercules triumphant’, and on the occasion of triumphal processions is arrayed in triumphal vestments); for the

triumphal banquets, cf. Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 35.1; Poseidon., *FGrH* III.262 = Ath. 4.153 C.

12. Macrob. *Sat.* 3.12.2 = Varro, *Peri keraunou*: 'Testatur etiam Terentius Varro in ea satura, quae inscribitur *Peri keraunou* maiores solitos decimam Herculi uouere, nec decem dies intermittere, quin polluerent, ac populum *asumbolon* cum corona laurea dimitterent cubitum' (Terentius Varro testifies in his *Satura*, which is named *Peri keraunou*, that our ancestors used to vow the tenth to Hercules, and that they did not let pass ten days before offering it, and let the people go to sleep with a crown without having paid). That is the way I understand Varro's statement about *asumbolon*.
13. Bayet (1926), 285–91.
14. Wissowa (1912), 278–9.
15. Festus p. 254 Lindsay.
16. Macrob. *Sat.* 3.6.11: 'Huius commenti causam Masurius Sabinus *Memorabilium* libro secundo aliter exponit: "Marcus", inquit, "Octavius Hersennus, prima adulescentia tibicen, postquam arti suae diffisus est, instituit mercaturam, et bene re gesta decimam Herculi profanauit. Postea cum nauigans hoc idem ageret, a praedonibus circumuentus fortissime repugnauit et uictor recessit. Hunc in somnis Hercules docuit sua opera seruatum. Cui Octavius impetrato a magistratibus loco aedem sacrauit et signum. Victoremque incisis litteris appellauit. Dedit ergo epitheton deo, quo et argumentum ueterum uictoriarum Herculis et commemoratio nouae historiae, quae recenti Romano sacro causam dedit, contineretur.'" (In the second book of his *Memoirs*, Masurius Sabinus explains in another way the reason of this nickname. Marcus Herennius, he tells, was during his first adolescence a flute-player. After having lost confidence in his art, he started doing business, and after a successful affair, he offered the tenth to Hercules. When, thereafter, he did the same thing by ship, and was caught by surprise by pirates, he defended himself fiercely and turned victorious. Hercules told him in a dream that he had been saved by his assistance. Octavius asked for a piece of land from the magistrates and consecrated a temple and a statue on it. And he called the god by an inscription Victorious. He so gave the god an epithet, which contained the indication of the former victories of Hercules as well as the memory of the recent event, giving the reason of the introduction of a new Roman cult').
17. *CIL* VI, 328: 'Herculi Victori / Pollenti Potenti / Inuicto d(ono) d(edit) l(ibens) m(erito) / C(aius) Vibius Fronto / uiator q(uaestorius). / Dedic(ata) (ante diem tertium) K(alendas) Iul(ias) / L(ucio) Vettio Paullo / T(ito) Iunio Montano cons(ulibus)' (To Hercules the Victorious, the Mighty, the Powerful, the Undefeated Gaius Vibius Fronto, usher of the quaestors gave

- (this offering) in full agreement. Dedicated on 29 June, Lucius Vettius Paullus and Titus Iunius Montanus being consuls [81 C. E.]’).
18. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.28: ‘Unde et mulieres in Italia sacro Herculis non licet interesse, quod Herculi, cum boues Geryonis per agros Italiae duceret, sitiienti respondit mulier aquam se non posse praestare, quod feminarum deae celebraretur dies, nec ex eo apparatu uiris gustare fas esset. Propter quod Hercules facturus sacrum detestatus est praesentiam feminarum, et Potitio ac Pinario sacrorum custodibus iussit ne mulierum interesse permetterent’.
 19. Livy, 10.23.1–10; Festus, p. 282; 283 Lindsay.
 20. Bayet 1926, 344 ff.; Cazanove (1983).
 21. Solin. 1.10.
 22. Juv. 6.306–13.
 23. Hercules’ statue decorated the roof of one of the temples in the S. Omobono area, providing another argument for relations between these cults and the Ara Maxima.

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Public and Publicity

Long-Term Changes in Religious Festivals during the Roman Republic

Jörg Rüpke

Looking at the Roman Republic we are confronted with a wealth of very different complex rituals that each attracted a multitude. If I take 'complex ritual' and 'popularity' as some of the elements for defining a 'festival', the evidence would be too scanty to allow clear-cut borderlines between festivals and other rituals. Usually, neither the complexity of the ritual, nor the number of persons involved, whether participants or spectators, are attested with any sufficient degree of certainty. Thus, I am more interested in the variety of phenomena and the different strategies or implications of the selected place and time, in relation to human agents or the gods addressed. The typological interest is, however, combined with a historical one. As is commonly known, the mixture of Roman festivals altered from the fifth and fourth to the second and first centuries BC, with a 'long' third century BC being the turning point. How is this change related to the religious and political development of the Republic? I contend that the ritual changes are linked to the changing role of the senate and the nobility, which reflects the evolving notion of 'public' in the term *res publica*. As most of our sources stem from the last century BC of the Republic, the exceptions being Imperial, reconstructing historical change remains a notorious problem. And yet an attempt has to be made, helped by historico-critical approaches in relation to those texts available, non-textual evidence and models informed from

comparative research. In order not simply to supersede such difficulties, my analysis will not follow a chronological narrative, but focuses on different traits of the festivals.

A MULTITUDE OF OCCASIONS

Political interpretations of festivals (such as I will refer to later on) frequently suffer from concentrating on a single event and its contents and meaning. This is not an apt way for describing the cultic reality of the Roman Republic. I start by taking a closer look at the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, the only extant Republican calendar.¹ On the Idus Sextiles—remember, the calendar antedates the Augustan period and hence the month Augustus—several entries in smaller letters are found referring to the *dies natales* of the temples of Diana, Vortumnus, Fortuna Equestris, Hercules Victor, and Castor and Pollux, and to a sacrifice to the Camenae. The anniversaries of dedications would have been celebrated by opening the temples and performing sacrifices to these deities, who were frequently well known. We would expect that each of these events would attract pious venerators as well as spectators, that is to say, active participants in the ritual, as well as curious children or passers-by. Given the length of time necessary for sacrifices and the preparation of meat, it must be assumed that the rituals started roughly at the same time of the day; however, there is no evidence of detailed temporal coordination. As the locations involved included the Aventine, the Porta Capena and the Forum, people who wished to take a significant part in the ritual must have made a careful selection. Such a choice had to be made on many days.

One could argue that these were rather semi-public events. Many temples were built on the initiative of generals returning victoriously, even if built by public money and senatorial consent.² In choosing a day for the dedication, dedicators struggled to achieve maximum public awareness, and the Ides—free from a range of burdensome duties and everyday routines (like school)³—would offer a splendid opportunity to stage a number of additional attractive rituals. Nevertheless, we do not know how large a public gathered for these anniversaries. The rituals commemorating dedications of different temples were not the only ones to compete among each other for an

audience on a certain date. Competition was particularly marked on the Ides of March, for example, when the *flamen Dialis* (and some other non-specified priests)⁴ would sacrifice a castrated ram to Jupiter. The same day was also *feriae Martis* according to later calendars, which would imply a sacrifice being made to Mars somewhere else. The popular rite of the Mamuralia, the Salian priests' beating of an animal's fur, was dated to the fifteenth of March by Joannes Lydus in the sixth century AD, but to the fourteenth of March by the mid-fourth-century BC *Fasti Filocali*; hence, any decision remains hypothetical.⁵ Many people, however, decided not to spend the day in the centre of the city, but on the banks of the Tiber. Ovid describes the date as a popular outing with drinking of wine in honour of Anna Perenna, whose sanctuary has now been located in the north of the city.⁶

However, competition was even sharper on the Ides of October. Again, the *flamen Dialis* sacrificed a ram. Whereas the *ludi Capitolini* attracted Romans to the Capitoline summit,⁷ the rites of the *Equus* October took place on the field of Mars, after staging a horse race, an equine sacrifice and an ensuing running race to the Forum (passing by the foot of the Capitoline Hill). The ritual contest between the inhabitants of the Subura and the *via Sacra* would finish in the Regia, within the centre of the Forum Romanum.⁸ Whereas the Capitoline Games were organized by a college, the sacrifice of the October horse seems to have been performed by the *flamen Martialis*. The complex topographic and calendrical structure of Roman religion employed a large number of priesthoods and agents who were coordinated rather than subordinated, i.e. they acted alongside each other without any hierarchical prerogatives. Lists of ritual dates, *ferialia*, for every group or priesthood⁹ would regulate activities that were too complex to find adequate expression in the *fasti*.

Despite the heavy ritual demand on the Ides (and Nones and Calends), around 30 per cent of the triumphs of both the third and the second centuries BC were also staged on these days (concentrating on the first and last month of the year). Here, clearly, individual strategies for optimizing the public turnout led to the choice of the date—despite events temporally clashing. It has to be added that the same dates, Calends and Ides in particular, were used to celebrate one's birthday.¹⁰ Thus, another substantial portion of the urban population potentially had alternative venues for merrymaking.

MONOPOLY BY PROCESSION

Judging by the size of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Rome must have been a large city already by the beginning of the Republic in the late sixth century BC, 'la grande Roma dei Tarquini'. A city of about thirty thousand inhabitants,¹¹ Rome was large enough to house several festivals at public temples and hundreds of private parties at the same time. Conditions would have improved (or, from another perspective, worsened) with the growth of the city to several hundred thousand by the time of the Punic Wars, and reaching perhaps half a million by the end of the first century BC.¹² How could a ritual gain the attention of a significant portion of this population? The answer, given in ancient Mesopotamia and Archaic Athens alike, was processions.

The same solution flourished in Rome. In the first half of the second century BC, Cato describes the ritual of the *lustratio agri*, where some sacrificial animals were led around the property.¹³ One would imagine that the *lustratio urbis* comprised a similar procession, copying the annual *amburbium* as a crisis rite to cope with *prodigia*. Yet, the evidence to corroborate Paulus Diaconus' etymological definition, 'amburbiales hostiae dicebantur, quae circum terminos urbis Romae ducebantur'—'the victims that were led around the boundary markers of the city of Rome were called "amburbiales"' (5.3–4L)—is weak. What the ancient authors say to 'describe' the *lustratio* does not exceed the phrase *urbe lustrata* or *urbem lustrat*.¹⁴ The route is difficult to reconstruct: for the *amburbium* Strabo gives a precise location, six miles out of Rome; the *luci* of Robigo and Dea Dia were about 5 miles away from Rome; according to Ovid, the Terminalia were celebrated at the sixth milestone on the via Laurentia.¹⁵ A processional route on this periphery would have had a length of at least 30 kilometres. This is unimaginable for a one-day procession with animals being led around and intermittent rituals. A circumambulation of Rome, of the so-called Servian wall, including the Capitoline Hill, Porta Collina, Porta Caelemontana, and Raudusculana (that is, the Aventine), would be at least 10 kilometres as well; hardly imaginable for a large-scale procession, while difficult even for a small group of religious specialists with all their apparatus.

Scattered evidence suggests that the priesthood of the Salii did cover distant parts of the city with their dancing processions and

changing the public location for their—perhaps even daily—dinners.¹⁶ Yet these movements, underlining the unity of the city, covered the whole of March. Apart from a few topographical focuses (such as the Quinquatrus, a special ritual on the seventeenth of March that included other religious agents), spectators would only be involved occasionally, perhaps by chance.

Another possible candidate for an old processional rite is offered by the dedication of the *spolia opima*, a procession attributed already to Romulus that featured the armour and arms of a hostile general. It is impossible to isolate a clear image of an earlier ritual beneath the assimilation to the later triumph in the Augustan sources. However, the probably fictitious sacral regulation applying to the ritual implies different temples as destinations, including the Temple of Mars on the Campus Martius. The latter would not have made a grand procession nor point to the importance of the procession in the case of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol.¹⁷

In order to find a ritual that not only conveys the idea of one city, a monopoly, but actually tries to achieve ‘mon-opsy’, the attraction of the whole city’s interest, one has to wait for the *pompa circensis*. Here, obviously, the older type of competitive races and other types of competition (the *ludi circenses* to be) were combined with a long procession that did not only involve a large number of marching participants. The many deities displayed in the form of statues, busts or symbols, at least implied the idea that many temples were involved (as the natural places to store such items), even if the procession proper started from the Capitol. It is significant that the starting days of games in the Late Republic do not compete with other spectacular events, but rather create such an event in a monopolistic manner.

When did these processions originate? The author of the most detailed description, the Augustan Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7.72.1–14), claims to base his description on Fabius Pictor, hence an author of the late third century BC. Despite the fact that Dionysius is particularly interested in the Greek elements of Roman religion, the many elements of the *pompa* that clearly parallel or even imitate Greek practices are plausible for the time of Fabius.¹⁸ I follow the sceptical position of Mommsen in postulating annual games only from 367/6 BC onwards; Frank Bernstein’s arguments for an earlier beginning (following Livy’s dating to the Regal period)¹⁹ rely heavily on the Varronian theory that anthropomorphic cult statues were an invention of the Late Regal period only, and hence related to the cult

of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and his Capitoline Temple. The lack of an annual ritual that included cult statues from many temples does not exclude the possibility that ritual agents or high-ranking spectators were transferred by chariots (as perhaps depicted on an architectural frieze from the Capitoline Temple), but makes a fully fledged procession for the earlier phase less probable. The conversion of the *pompa circensis* into a spectacular procession would have been a development of the fourth and third centuries BC. Such dating would explain their rise as an attempt to compete with contemporary Hellenistic rituals. As I have argued elsewhere, the triumphal procession and—following Harriet Flower—the *pompa imaginum* of noble funerals hardly antedate the second half of the fourth century BC.²⁰

The description by Dionysius at the end of the seventh book reveals how spectators were attracted:

(7.72.1–2) Before beginning the games the principal magistrates conducted a procession in honour of the gods from the Capitol through the Forum to the Circus Maximus. Those who led the procession were, first, the Romans' sons who were nearing manhood and were of an age to bear a part of this ceremony, who rode on horseback if their fathers were entitled by their fortunes to be knights, while the others, who were destined to serve in the infantry, went on foot, the former in squadrons and troops, and the latter in divisions and companies, as if they were going to school; this was done in order that strangers might see the number and beauty of the youths of the commonwealth who were approaching manhood. These were followed by charioteers, some of whom drove four horses abreast, some two, and others rode unyoked horses. After them came the contestants in both the light and heavy games, their whole bodies naked except their loins... (5) The contestants were followed by numerous bands of dancers arranged in three divisions, the first consisting of men, the second of youths, and the third of boys. These were accompanied by flute-players, who used ancient flutes that were small and short, as is done even to this day, and by lyre-players, who plucked ivory lyres of seven strings and the instruments called *barbita*... (6)... The dancers were dressed in scarlet tunics girded with bronze cinctures, wore swords suspended at their sides, and carried spears of shorter than average length; the men also had bronze helmets adorned with conspicuous crests and plumes. Each group was led by one man who gave the figures of the dance to the rest, taking the lead in representing their warlike and rapid movements, usually in the proceleusmatic rhythms... (10) But it is not alone from the warlike and serious dance of these bands which the Romans

employed in their sacrificial ceremonies and processions that one may observe their kinship to the Greeks, but also from that which is of a mocking and ribald nature. For after the armed dancers others marched in procession impersonating satyrs and portraying the Greek dance called sicinnis. Those who represented Sileni were dressed in shaggy tunics, called by some chortaioi, and in mantles of flowers of every sort; and those who represented satyrs wore girdles and goatskins, and on their heads manes that stood upright, with other things of like nature. These mocked and mimicked the serious movements of the others, turning them into laughter-provoking performances . . . (13) After these bands of dancers came a throng of lyre-players and many flute-players, and after them the persons who carried the censers in which perfumes and frankincense were burned along the whole route of the procession, and also the men who bore the show-vessels made of silver and gold, both those that were sacred to the gods and those that belonged to the state. Last of all in the procession came the images of the gods, borne on men's shoulders, showing the same likenesses as those made by the Greeks and having the same dress, the same symbols, and the same gifts which tradition says each of them invented and bestowed on mankind. These were the images not only of Jupiter, Iuno, Minerva, Neptune, and the rest whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve gods, but also of those still more ancient from whom legend says the twelve were sprung, namely, Saturn, Ops, Themis, Latona, the Parcae, Mnemosynê, and all the rest to whom temples and holy places are dedicated among the Greeks; and also of those whom legend represents as living later, after Jupiter took over the sovereignty, such as Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Liber, and the demi-gods whose souls after they had left their mortal bodies are said to have ascended to Heaven and to have obtained the same honours as the gods, such as Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, Helen, Pan, and countless others . . . (15) After the procession was ended the consuls and the priests whose function it was presently sacrificed oxen; and the manner of performing the sacrifices was the same as with us . . . ²¹

I have already pointed out the advantages of any procession ritual. The lengthy description shows in detail how such an event is made attractive, clearly ritualized by its mixture of excessive order and rather anarchic elements. Many people are involved as actors or attracted as spectators. Young participants guarantee the participation of their families, while the potential for a close-up look at the drivers and athletes attracts the athletically minded crowd (1) and the dances the aesthetically minded. The level of noise marking this event

must have been quite boisterous, with every sense being served: unusual dresses in bright colours (6); odours (13); music, even played on archaic instruments (5), thus giving additional ceremonial qualities to the procession. There is a close interaction between actors and spectators, whose laughter is provoked by improvised performance (10). And last, but not least, the ritual assembles a large number of deities, including the most important ones according to Greek and Roman standards. The use of standardized representations of these deities, clearly stressed (13), ensures intellectual as well as religious satisfaction.²²

DURATION AND INTENSIFICATION

Processions must be judged as an effective means of creating publicity for a ritual and centralizing a highly diverse urban sacral topography. Otherwise, the attractiveness of the triumph for many—but by no means all²³—republican generals would be difficult to understand. However, watching a procession along a route—even if the latter was more and more monumentalized in itself²⁴—implied certain limits and deficits.

The first is a temporal limit. The importance of a procession could be stressed by its length, but the velocity and the duration of natural light can put limits on that. Triumphal processions experimented with two-day events from the early second century BC and reached a maximum of three days in the first century BC. However, normal reactions of the crowds seem to have taught the organizers to create successions of thematically varying booty and war representations (triumphs over different peoples and regions), rather than indefinitely prolonging a unified parade of people and images.²⁵ Prolongation of competitions or scenic spectacles of the games was easier. By the time of the calendar of Antium, nine days each were marked for the *Ludi Magni* in September and the *Ludi Plebeii* in November.

Another type of ritual reached even greater lengths, namely the supplications. These were decentralized rituals, which involved opening all (or at least, many) temples to enable sacrifices and ensuing banquets throughout the city, in the second century BC, and even throughout Italy.²⁶ An exceptional ritual of petition or thanksgiving, with a length usually of one to three days in the Middle Republic

(again the annalistic historiography is not reliable enough to determine an exact starting point), exploded during the last century of the Republic. Three supplications of fifty days in the years 45, 44, and 43 BC mark the very acme of this development. Obviously, such a duration does not allow a sufficient distinction between an exceptional ritual status and everyday life. Thus, it is easy to see why this form lost its importance from Augustus onwards. Yet the perspective on pragmatic and political aspects (the change of inter-nobility competition) has made us forget the permanent consequences of this ritual strategy. I would maintain that the phenomenon of a daily cult in the form of a small sacrifice, hymns or lamps, known from some temples and of growing importance for the Imperial period,²⁷ has one of its origins in this idea of enlarging ritual efficacy by an ever-prolonged cult at the same temples.

Processions imply a second deficit: interaction between participants is limited, though of course spectators did interact among themselves. Ovid knew about this, when the teacher of the *Ars amatoria* recommended to his male audience that theatres, circuses, *munera*, and triumphs were the places to make new female acquaintances, imagining the verbal interaction in such situations.²⁸ The prologue of Plautus' comedy *Poenulus* (1–45) gives an even livelier picture:

I have a mind to imitate the Achilles of Aristarchus from that Tragedy I'll take for myself the opening: 'Be silent, and hold your tongues, and give attention.' The head-manager it is who bids you listen, that with a good grace they may be seated on the benches, both those who have come hungry and those who have come well filled. You who have eaten, by far the most wisely have you done: you who have not eaten, do you be filled with the Play. But he who has something ready for him to eat, 'tis really great folly in him, for our sakes, to come here to sit fasting. Rise up, cryer! bespeak attention among the people: I'm now waiting to see if you know your duty. Exercise your voice, by means of which you subsist and find your clothes; for unless you do cry out, in your silence starvation will be creeping upon you. Well, now sit down again, that you may earn double wages. Heaven grant success! do you obey my commands. Let no worn-out debauchee be sitting in the front of the stage, nor let the lictor or his rods be noisy in the least; and let no seat-keeper be walking about before people's faces, nor be showing any to their seats, while the actor is on the stage. Those who have been sleeping too long at home in idleness, it's right for them now to stand contentedly, or

else let them master their drowsiness. Don't let slaves be occupying the seats, that there may be room for those who are free; or else let them pay down the money for their places; if that they cannot do, let them be off home, and escape a double evil, lest they be variegated both here with scourges, and with thongs at home, if they've not got things in due order when their masters come home. Let nurses keep children, baby-bantlings, at home, and let no one bring them to see the Play; lest both they themselves may be athirst, and the children may die with hunger; and that they mayn't be squealing about here, in their hungry fits, just like kids. Let the matrons see the piece in silence, in silence laugh, and let them refrain from screaming here with their shrill voices; their themes for gossip let them carry off home, so as not to be an annoyance to their husbands both here and at home. And, as regards the managers of the performance, let not the palm of victory be given to any player wrongfully, nor by reason of favour let any be driven out of doors, in order that the inferior may be preferred to the good ones. And this, too, besides, which I had almost forgotten: while the performance is going on, do you, lacqueys, make an onset on the cookshops; now, while there's an opportunity, now, while the tarts are smoking hot, hasten there. These injunctions, which have been given as the manager's command, Heaven prosper them! troth now, let every one remember for himself.²⁹

The Circus Maximus offered seats, but theatres, due to a more intimate size—which for most of the Republic were temporal structures, sometimes within a circus—enabled more intensive communication among the audience as a whole. I would like to contend that the enormous growth of the *ludi scaenici* during the second century BC may not be separated from this communicative truth. Even if the theorizing about the political functions of dramatic performances mostly rests on Ciceronian observations, every unbiased description must state that the intensity of thematic communication exploded in this kind of ritual.

Rituals in smaller circles, not identical with primary groups like families,³⁰ offered even more intensive forms of communication. Banqueting was sought after and the proliferation of villas in the surroundings of Rome offered a growing space for dining. Professional poets like Ennius offered attractive and envied forms of entertainment, and this was no purely secular form of celebration. Literary dialogues usually selected religious dates as the opportunities for their fictive banquets, such as the newly introduced cult of the 'Great Mother of the Gods', which gave birth to *mutitationes*, mutual

invitations for dinner among the nobility, according to the *Fasti Praenestini*. Sumptuary laws from the same period limited expenditure and tried to force banqueting groups into the open, i.e. in spaces that could be more easily controlled and observed.³¹ This development started long before the 190s BC. As I have argued in an article about the *Fasti sacerdotum*, the reforms of the priestly colleges by the *lex Ogulnia* in 300 BC transformed the colleges into 'banquetable' circles of nine persons (three to each *triclinium*); the longest extant fragment of the pontifex maximus' protocols gives details of a pontifical dinner.³² When in 196 BC a new priesthood was created, the only one to reach the prestige of the augurs, pontiffs and (*quin*)*decimviri*, was the *tresviri epulorum*, who were basically responsible for the senatorial banquets connected with the great Jupiter festivals in September and November.

DONATION AND APPROPRIATION

The dinner occasion of the greater *collegium pontificum* just referred to was the inauguration of a *flamen Martialis*. What we would classify as religion offered an important framework for facilitating intensified societal communication. That is not to say that 'secular' alternatives did not exist. The drawing of lots to determine the first voting unit did not render *comitia* religious meetings; *contiones* existed too. Yet the organization of splendid games was considered to leave a greater impression on the voters than a grandiloquent speech. The rise of the games and public processional rites are as intensively connected to the euergetic habit as seemingly private dinners. What is the mechanism at work?

Religious occasions meant actions involving the gods. Despite the negligence of the religious factor by many ancient historians, the gods were not superfluous or merely traditional paraphernalia. They were the primary addressees and unmistakably present by place, time, or images—usually by all three. Even the gladiatorial spectacles—neither classified as games nor public during the Republic and long after—were organized with a view towards future elections, but labelled as *munera*, i.e. as duties owed to a dead ancestor. The great men of the final Republic took pains to identify such forebears and did not refrain from construing long temporal bridges, connecting

actual *munera* to a death which occurred years before.³³ The audience that was thus created—and an introductory *pompa*, of course, helped to create such an audience³⁴—did not constitute a private meeting, but rather a semi-public party offering cult to a being, i.e. the dead person, that was considered to create a *locus religiosus* (if not *sacer*).

The situation was even clearer for the technically public rituals that were addressed to deities venerated by the *res publica*, that is, at its expense. Already by co-financing these spectacles, the polity left no doubt about its role. The gods present were the guarantors that the citizens not only consumed the magistrate's donation, but made it a public donation. In this way the public appropriated it. Hence, in the ritual the gods were honoured not only by the leading magistrate, but by the citizenship as a whole.

DISTINCTION AND CONTROL

Obviously, the possibility of the distinction on offer was an important driving force behind the multiplication and enlargement of certain types of audience-oriented rituals. As far as we can see, the dynamics of the process were characterized not by the intense modification of traditional races, sacrifices, and the like but by the creation of new rituals that opened up opportunities for new agents, usually magistrates, to distinguish themselves. The formation of the new nobility, from the end of the fourth century BC onwards, demanded an intensified communication among their members, as well as between nobles and the populace. The development of a 'literary culture' of drama and epics is a consequence of this need for communication and its ritual forms of banquets and *ludi scaenici*.³⁵ The populace needed space for communication among itself for other purposes too. There was hardly a strong need to corroborate the notions of citizenship or alliance—there were enough blood-soaked possibilities for that. Other problems needed alternative modes of integration: as the Plautine prologue quoted above demonstrated, the audience included females and slaves too.

There was a reverse to the obverse 'distinction', namely control. Opportunities were at the same time 'channels'. As the magistrates' formalized careers channelled the possibilities for martial success, the spectrum of rituals channelled public communication. Control was

produced by forcing the members of the nobility to employ the framework of public rituals and by restricting access to them: the organization of games was restricted to specified magistrates or returning generals; the triumph had to be individually approved by the senate after discussing the achievements of the preceding campaign. Control was exerted by the long delay of permanent theatre structures, thus causing high costs in terms of new infrastructure for a single ritual, as well as by new debates about the placing of temples.³⁶ In order to prevent evasion on the part of the peers, the rituals had to be allotted high prestige, such as the opening of the most prestigious temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus for a triumph, the use of the Circus Maximus, or longer periods for games. However, that was always precarious: generals organized a *triumphus in monte Albano* without the consent of the senate; put up a large number of statues in the city; attributed an excessive amount of booty to their soldiers; or gave lavish *munera*, gladiatorial shows, for the people.

Control had a religious element too. Neither the war reports and displays of booty from a triumph nor the funeral processions and laudatory speeches were ritually directed towards the gods. They were aimed at the spectators—and hotly contested. Villages were made into cities and skirmishes turned into decisive battles, heroes transformed into ancestors and ancestors were made heroes, raising doubts and instigating debates, as passages in Plautus and Cicero demonstrate.³⁷ The same does not apply to the games. In the Middle and Late Republic, nobles performed neither as actors nor as sportsmen. Competition was entirely left to professionals, something which, at least for the races and athletic competitions, implied a change from the earlier practices; previously nobles from Rome and the surrounding areas participated. However, for real competitions in large public rituals, a foreigner's victory or the defeat of a consul's son could not have been acceptable any longer for the patricio-plebeian elite of the Middle and Late Republic. At the same time and into the Empire, the *luperci* and the *Sacravienses* still fought for 'victory', even if in mock competitions only. Thus, the outcome was without personal consequences for the organizing magistrate, even if popular favour for a champion might be disappointed in the event.

The gods did exert censorship nevertheless. Being the primary addressees of the rituals, they enjoyed both the quality of the offering itself and the human spectators. The latter—as second-order spectators—watched the gods watching. Thus, they could be sure

that they were witnesses of elaborate cultural products. The gods received the Greek or Greek-style culture that the nobles opted for in their villas and Italian municipalities; indeed, nobles and gods even seemed to share the same taste. How could the populace not partake? There were many adaptations of Greek comedies and tragedies to suit local tastes. However, the elaborate level and enormous presence of Greek languages and cultures was astonishing. To explain it by the gods' trendsetting seems to be the easiest hypothesis.

PUBLIC AND PUBLICITY

My short survey of changes in the ritual portfolio of the Republic is necessarily focused on processes that are visible in our sources or at least relate to prominent rituals. Only public rites received sufficient publicity. Most of the rituals hinted at in the Late Republican or Augustan calendars are almost never mentioned in historiographic texts or speeches. One has to assume continuity at least from the foundation of the respective temples onwards. Of course, the idea of a Numan list of festivals is no longer tenable.³⁸ Many of the rites that might go back to the Early Republic, or even beyond, were performed by the priests gathered in the larger pontifical college, including the *flamines* and Vestal Virgins. The monthly sacrifice of a sheep to Jupiter (*ovis idulis*), for example, might not have attracted any spectators; nobody, however, complained about that. The actual attraction of many rituals remains obscure, though 'popular' rites might indicate popularity. A list of 'popular rites' might be rather short, but would be led by the Saturnalia together with Kalendae Januariae and the Septimontium, the festival of the Seven Hills, celebrated likewise from northern Africa to the Gallia Transpadana. Such a list would also include the Lupercalia (15 February), perhaps the sequence of Feralia, Parentalia, Quirinalia, certainly the Matronalia (1 March, including a rite of reversal), and perhaps Anna Perenna (15 March). Attestations for the Liberalia (17 March) are astonishingly vague, whereas the Parilia (21 April) might have been popular. The temple of Mater Matuta also would have attracted women on 11 June, the Vestalia (15 June) some matrons, while the birthday of the temple of Fors Fortuna (24 June) was popular with the *plebs* according to Ovid's *Libri Fastorum*. The popular character of the Poplifugia (5 July)

remains difficult to assess. More certainty is attributable to the festivals of the Neptunalia and Volcanalia, including the construction of temporary huts and bonfires (celebrated on 23 July and 23 August, respectively). Subsequently, one could consider the festivals of fountains and new wine (Fontinalia, Meditrinalia), though the evidence is meagre. Most of these festivals were characterized by decentralized commemorations; in fact for the majority no centralized rite is known.

Evidently, from the mid-fourth century BC onwards, these festival practices were supplemented rather than supplanted by complex rituals, characterized by centralized rites. These additional rituals were destined to attract a larger share of the population (that is not to say around an eighth to a quarter of the inhabitants of Rome, but rather only a few per cent), as well as spectators from the surrounding towns.³⁹ Large processions and competition among professionals characterized the events. The number of days dedicated to these 'games' reached eleven by the end of the third century BC and thirty during the second BC. At the end of the second century BC, up to twenty-eight days might have been regularly reserved for scenic performances (including mime),⁴⁰ a type of ritual that even dominated the circus games.⁴¹ These rituals enabled and enforced a complex communication, the necessity for which seems to have been due to the enormous territorial expansion and military strain, as well as internal processes of social differentiation and conglomeration. With the Imperial era, the type of ritual described became the standard language of religious communication between the emperor and the population of Rome, and also thematically it concentrated on the emperor. Hence, religion acquired a specific political role that it had not manifested quite so clearly at the start of the period analysed.

NOTES

1. Reconstructed in Rüpke (1995), 40, on the basis of Mancini and Gatti.
2. See Orlin (1997).
3. See Rüpke (2004a), 220 n. 39, for references.
4. Festus 372.8–12L; Ov. *Fast.* 1.56, 587; Macrobian *Sat.* 1.15.16.
5. Lydus, *Mens.* 4.49; Chronograph of 354: *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2.243.
6. Ov. *Fast.* 3.523–42. Piranomonte (2002).
7. Enn. *Ann.* 1, test. 51 (Skutsch); Liv. 5.50.4; 5.52.11; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 53.

8. Main sources: Festus 190L; Paul. Fest. 246.21–24L; 71.20–2L; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 97; Polyb. 12.4b.1–3.
9. See Rüpke (2005), 1419–39, for the equivalence of normal and priestly colleges.
10. Rüpke (2004a), 216; Mart. 4.66.3; 8.64.2–4; 9.52.2; 10.87.1.
11. Cornell (1995), 207.
12. Storey (1997).
13. Cato, *Agr. Orig.* 141.
14. Livy, 21.62.7; 35.9.5; 39.22.4; Tac. *Ann.* 13.24; *Hist.* 1.87 (see Wissowa (1912), 391 n. 4, for further references).
15. Amburbium: Strabo 5.130; Terminalia: Ov. *Fast.* 2.679–84; see Rüpke (1990), 33.
16. See Rüpke (1998), 203–6.
17. See Rüpke (1990), 217–23, for the evidence and its historicity.
18. Bernstein (1998), 254–67, esp. 260 ff.
19. Bernstein (1998), 117–18; 50–78; Livy, 1.35.7–9.
20. Rüpke (2006); Flower (1996).
21. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.72.1–2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15 (trans. E. Cary, Loeb Library).
22. See Rüpke (2010).
23. See Itgenshorst (2005).
24. See, e.g., Hölscher (2001).
25. See Künzl (1988) and Bodet (1999) for the optical impression (the latter for the funeral procession).
26. Livy, 40.19.5; 40.37.3.
27. See Nilsson (1945).
28. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.89–228; *Am.* 3.2.43–58.
29. Trans. Henry Thomas Riley (Perseus project).
30. See Rüpke (2004b) for cultic groups.
31. See the sequence in Gell, *NA* 2.24.
32. Rüpke (2005), 1423, 1436; see Macrobius. *Sat.* 3.13.10–12.
33. Wiedemann (2001), 14–17.
34. Wiedemann (2001), 102–3.
35. See Rüpke (2000; 2001).
36. See Orlin (1997).
37. For Plautinian comments on the triumph, see Itgenshorst (2005), 45–55; for critique of gentilician stemmata claims, see Hölkeskamp (1996), 322, drawing on Cic. *Brut.* 62; Livy, 4.16.4.
38. Demonstrated by Rüpke (1995).
39. Thus Hubert Cancik in a colloquium on ancient festivals in March 2006 at Erfurt.
40. Blänsdorf (1978), 115. See Taylor (1937).
41. Bernstein (1998), 245–6.

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The Cult of the ‘Great Mother’ in Imperial Rome

The Roman and the ‘Foreign’

Mary Beard

Look, in come the devotees of frenzied Bellona and of the Mother of the Gods. And in comes the huge eunuch—the one that the rest of the obscene crowd must honour. Long ago he grabbed a bit of broken pot and sliced through his soft genitals, and now before him the howling crowd, with their tambourines, give way. His vulgar cheeks are covered by a Phrygian bonnet.

Juvenal, *Satires* 6.511–16¹

The eunuch priests, or *galli*, of the goddess Magna Mater (the Great Mother or Cybele²) were a flamboyant, sometimes unsettling presence in the cultural landscape of Imperial Rome. With a predictable combination of fascination, revulsion and disdain, Roman writers described (and decried) their flowing hair, extravagant jewellery, and long yellow silken robes. Most fascinating and repulsive of all was their mad religious frenzy—involving not only ecstatic dancing, but also frenetic self-flagellation and (the essential marker, so it was presented, of their religious status) the act of self-castration performed in a divine

This chapter is in dialogue with Beard (1994). The original intention was simply to update that earlier paper; but thanks to recent work on this subject (some of it, I am delighted to discover, engaging with the main ideas of Beard 1994), much more radical amendment and rethinking proved necessary. This is in significant respects a new, and—I hope—better, paper. I am grateful to the editors for giving me this opportunity to rethink, and for their patience with an overdue contributor.

trance. Whatever the 'real' origin of these priests and their rituals (a question to which I shall return), Roman writing stressed their Eastern origin, harking back to the cult centres of the Great Mother in Asia Minor.³ They were a striking contrast with the religious officials of the traditional state cults of the city of Rome, who were drawn almost exclusively from the Roman governing elite, and they dealt with the affairs of the gods in much the same way as they dealt with the affairs of men. It is true that we tend to underestimate the more picturesque side of Roman festivals and rituals, in our efforts to make the Romans conform to the rather staid image we like to hold of them. Nonetheless, they normally undertook their priestly duties in the plain traditional dress (the toga) of a Roman citizen or magistrate. Frenzy, bright colours, and dancing were carefully controlled. The rituals of the Luperici (who ran naked, or near naked, around the city) and the Salii (who danced through the street wearing a distinctively primitive military costume) were the exceptions rather than the rule. Castration was certainly off-limits. In some cases bodily 'wholeness' was a prerequisite for Roman religious office.⁴

This chapter explores the contrast between these two different types of religious practitioner in the city of Rome during the first three centuries of our era and examines the relationship of the cult and rituals of Magna Mater with (to use a slightly misleading shorthand) the Roman 'state'. There has been a large amount of excellent recent work on the goddess and her various priests, not only in Rome but in the Eastern Mediterranean and her supposed homeland in Asia Minor. Thanks to the efforts of, amongst others, Philippe Borgeaud, Lynn Roller, Jaime Alvar, and Eric Orlin, analysis has gone far beyond the old paradigms of Graillet, Cumont, and later Vermaseren, whose combination of disapproval and sneaking admiration for the cult was not unlike the reactions of ancient commentators themselves (unsurprisingly, perhaps, as it was largely inherited from them).⁵ Even so, there remains more that can usefully be said about the role of the cult, both as ritual practice and representation (a 'ritual in ink'), in Roman metropolitan culture.⁶

In what follows, I shall not be attempting to reconstruct and analyse the festivals of the Great Mother in Rome, as they were performed in her temple and on the streets of the city (as I shall make clear, I believe that most such reconstructions are fallacious: we shall never know 'what happened' at a Roman festival—at least not in those simple terms). But I shall be looking again at descriptions of the ceremonies of Magna Mater (focusing on Prudentius' famous account of the

taurobolium, which I hope to show is more than the parody of Christian baptism that it is often taken for); and I shall be thinking about how far the glimpses we have of the cult 'from the inside' (in, for example, funerary monuments of *galli* and the recently published curse tablets from the sanctuary of Isis and Magna Mater at Mainz) match up with the outsider's view that we know so well from Juvenal and Martial.

My main argument, however, concerns the representation of the cult and its officials within traditional (that is, non-Christian) Roman literature and culture. I shall suggest that there was a constant tension between, on the one hand, Roman rejection of the cult of Magna Mater as something dangerously 'foreign' and, on the other, the incorporation of the cult in the symbolic forms of state power. This tension can, in my view, be seen as part of a wider cultural debate in ancient Rome, a debate not merely on the nature of 'Roman-ness' (a theme which has tended to be rather overemphasized in recent discussions of Roman culture in general⁷), but more specifically on what could count as 'Roman' religious experience—in the context of a huge and ethnically diverse empire that had dramatically transcended any definition of Rome as a single, homogeneous citystate.

By emphasizing the unresolved tension between the incorporation of the cult and its rejection, I am distancing myself—as others have⁸—from the old scholarly approach to this material that stressed the flagrant incompatibility of the Eastern rituals of Magna Mater with Roman tradition. This often went hand in hand with the idea that, after the introduction of the cult in 204 BC, the Romans gradually realized that they had 'bitten off more than they could chew'; that, in addition to a venerable old goddess, they had also brought into the city a bunch of thoroughly weird, ecstatic, self-castrating priests—who had to be very strictly policed. But I am also resisting the kind of linear narrative history which is still often proposed, according to which a relatively 'tamed' version of the cult was gradually incorporated into the mainstream of Roman state religion (with the reign of Claudius often seen as a crucial stage in that process).⁹ I hope instead to preserve the uncertainty, the ambivalence, and conflict that *always* marked the religion of Magna Mater in Rome—and which was, I shall suggest, part of its cultural and religious function.

This chapter focuses largely on the religion of the city of Rome. Not exclusively: it occasionally appeals to evidence drawn from further afield and it starts by reviewing the story of the introduction of the goddess from Asia Minor in the late third century BC. But I am

emphatically not offering an empire-wide perspective, for the simple reason that generalizations about the religion of the Roman Empire as a whole (as if it were the politico-religious unity that some Romans would have liked it to be) tend to obscure more than they illuminate. The imperial territory included a huge number of very different local religions. Not only did these react in diverse ways to the conquering, or ruling, power of Rome, but the symbolic forms of that ruling power also varied according to place, time, the nature of the process of conquest, and Roman perceptions of the various native traditions. It goes without saying that Roman religion in the cities of Greece was very different from Roman religion in the tribal societies of Northern Gaul. A deity might be known by the same name across the empire, but there can be no reason to suppose that its associations, political context, forms of worship, and meaning would be consistent from one part of the Roman world to another. The Roman Empire had no single religious system, but a set of sometimes interlocking, sometimes mutually dependent, sometimes flagrantly inconsistent, sometimes openly hostile systems.¹⁰ I have not had the strength of will to ignore some key pieces of vivid testimony—such as the Mainz curse tablets—found far outside Rome itself; nor, given the paucity of evidence for some aspects of the cult, would it have been sensible to ignore material simply because it was found in the ‘wrong’ place. Nevertheless I am mostly concerned with the reception and representation of *Magna Mater* in the city of Rome itself.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CULT AND ITS CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS: UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS

The goddess *Magna Mater* was formally introduced into Rome in 204 BC, towards the end of the Hannibalic War. She was brought from Asia Minor, on the recommendation of the Sibylline Books, and installed on the Palatine Hill in the centre of the city; her temple there was dedicated in 191 BC. Roman religious traditions regularly incorporated new deities, and the Sibylline Books had been much involved in that process, recommending the introduction of a series of gods and goddesses from the Greek world and the East: *Asclepius*,

Dis and Proserpina, Hebe, Aphrodite of Eryx, and several others.¹¹ But Magna Mater was unusual in this series for several (partly conflicting) reasons. First, she could be thought of as a genuine ancestral Roman deity, because of her close connections with the city of Troy, which was, according to the well-known legend, the ultimate origin of the Roman race. In fact one of the titles of Magna Mater in Rome was Magna Mater *Idaea*, after Mount Ida near Troy.¹² Second, she was associated with a far more radical form of ecstatic and aggressively 'foreign' worship than any other of the imports. Third, there are more, and much richer, ancient literary accounts of the introduction to Rome of Magna Mater than any of the other new deities (though none are contemporary, and the earliest detailed discussions of Magna Mater's arrival were written some two hundred years after the event). As so often in ancient history, 'more sources' turns out to mean 'more problems', rather than fewer. (The uncomfortable truth is that we find it much easier now to give a confident account of an ancient religious practice when only one description of it survives.) In this case, the basic story of the introduction of the goddess follows a broadly similar pattern each time it is told. But, as we shall see, there are all kinds of potentially significant discrepancies and frustrating silences, while different motivations and different characters in the narrative are highlighted—from King Attalus of Pergamum to the virtuous matron (or Vestal Virgin) who helped to draw the ship carrying the image of Magna Mater ashore in Italy.

Livy's account is often the modern starting point.¹³ In the previous year (205 BC), he explains, towards the end of the long war against Hannibal and after a series of showers of stones falling from the sky (and taken to be a religious portent), the Romans consulted the Sibylline Books which recommended that 'Mater Idaea' should be brought from Pessinus to Rome ('when a foreign enemy had brought war to the land of Italy, he could be driven out of Italy and defeated, if the Idaean Mother were brought to Rome from Pessinus'). In response, the Romans dispatched a group of ambassadors to their ally, King Attalus of Pergamum, calling in at Delphi en route (the oracle there confirmed that they would get what they were looking for through Attalus, and that when they had taken the goddess back to Italy, they should make sure that she was received 'by he who was the best man at Rome'). When they reached Pergamum, Attalus conducted them to Pessinus and handed over to them the sacred stone that the local inhabitants said was the Mother of the Gods. To prepare

for her arrival in Rome, the senate debated who should be chosen as the 'best man'—and came up with the young Publius Scipio Nasica (on what grounds he was adjudged the 'best', Livy claims no knowledge). Nasica went down to Ostia to receive the goddess, sailing out to sea to take her from the priests who had accompanied her and then handing her image over to the married women of Rome to convey to the city. One of these women, Livy singles out: Claudia Quinta, whose reputation had previously been in doubt, but who became renowned for her 'chastity' (*pudicitia*) thanks to her role in this ceremony. Other writers give Claudia Quinta (or Valeria, as she was called by Diodorus Siculus¹⁴) a much more central part in the events. In Ovid's account she proved her chastity by a miracle: when the goddess's ship grounded on a sandbank, she effortlessly pulled it ashore with a rope (an incident vividly captured in a relief sculpture on a second-century altar to 'the Mother of the Gods' from Rome).¹⁵ Later Herodian made her a Vestal Virgin, under suspicion of breaking her vow of chastity.¹⁶

Clear and straightforward as Livy's account is, almost every aspect of it has been—and continues to be—disputed. Did the goddess really come from Pessinus? And if so what was the role of King Attalus of Pergamum? Pessinus is over 200 miles from Pergamum and we have no firm evidence that the town, and its sanctuary, was even in the Pergamene sphere of influence, let alone under its direct control, in 205/4 BC. Some modern critics have therefore followed Ovid's account, as well as hints in other ancient writers, to suggest that the goddess actually came from Pergamum or (as the name 'Mater Idaea' would suggest) from Mount Ida nearby.¹⁷ The image of the goddess is also a puzzle. Livy writes of the 'sacred stone' (usually assumed to be a meteorite); but others depict it, or refer to it, as a statue (Herodian, for example, refers to it as an '*agalma*' by an unknown artist that fell from the sky, hence the name of the town Pessinus, from the Greek *pesein*, 'to fall'¹⁸). The standard representation of Magna Mater in Hellenistic Greece and Asia Minor was in classically anthropomorphic form. So was this a particularly primitive version of the goddess (perhaps with links to Celtic *matres* and their aniconic sacred stones). Or is there a more complicated story? Roller wonders if there is a 'a hint of sarcasm' in Livy's phrase—'which the local inhabitants said was the Mother of the Gods'—and comes close to suggesting that Attalus handed the ignorant Romans some image of a local Mother Goddess, certainly not what the Sibylline Books had in mind.¹⁹ No more certain are the political circumstances

surrounding the introduction. Livy's account connects it directly to Roman anxieties about the war with Hannibal. But many modern scholars have pointed out that the war was as good as won by 205/4 BC, and that a rather different political story may be at stake—whether Rome's difficult relations with the states in the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the First Macedonian War, or its increasing desire to parade its 'Trojan origins', or perhaps internal conflicts in the senate about the conduct of the final stages of the Hannibalic War and its aftermath.²⁰ Others have seen an underlying clash between popular pressure for the introduction of the new cult and senatorial reluctance to embrace such an untraditional form of religion—a clash that was ultimately 'masked' by the story which stressed the leading role of the aristocracy in securing the goddess for Rome.²¹

But what of the eunuch priests, the *galli*, with their ecstatic rituals, begging, loud music, whips, and bright flowing robes? And what of the god who is so frequently paired with Magna Mater, Attis? We find many different variants of the myth of Attis in ancient literature and various (ancient and modern) interpretations of his role and importance in the cult of the Mother. One standard, (over-)simplified version casts him as a young mortal boy driven to a frenzy by Magna Mater (who was jealous of his affections for another woman); in this maddened state Attis castrated himself and died—but was then brought back to eternal life through the intervention of Magna Mater herself.²² It was a story closely related to various features of the cult and its rituals. The self-castration provided a model for (or an explanation of, or a symbolic commentary on) the self-castration of the priests. The stress on the boy's resurrection may have done the same for one of the festivals of Magna Mater that I shall describe below.²³

It is usually and plausibly assumed by modern scholars that the eunuch priests were brought to Rome along with the cult image in 204 BC (that is implied by Livy's account, even if not proven). And it is clear from archaeological evidence that Attis was a presence in the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine from the early second century BC. He is not, it is true, mentioned in any of the ancient accounts of the introduction; but a large number of figurines of Attis have been discovered in excavations of the temple, dating from its very earliest phases.²⁴ Both *galli* and Attis were, almost certainly, foundational elements of the Roman cult of the Mother. The puzzle then is that neither are undeniably attested, in their familiar and distinctive form, in any of the evidence we have from the pre-Roman Near East. *Galli*

are found there, as priestly servants of Cybele, the Great Mother, but it is not so certain that in Classical and pre-Classical times they were regularly castrated, still less self-castrated; or was there perhaps a 'cultural repugnance' that discouraged any mention of the practice?²⁵ Nor is there any agreement among either ancient or modern writers what the title *gallus* meant, or when and where it originated. There is no evidence that it is a particularly ancient term: only conjecture can push it back earlier than the end of the third century BC and other words (such as *metragurtai*) are used in Classical Greek to designate the Mother's priests. Besides, it is far from clear whether its original form was in Greek or Latin, what its connection was with 'Galli' in the sense of 'Gauls' or 'Galatians', or for that matter what its connection might be with the river Gallos in Phrygia (which came first, the priests or the stream?).²⁶ Likewise—despite a variety of possible earlier Near Eastern elements in his myth and ritual—the Attis familiar from Roman literature and culture, appears to be a relatively late configuration. Herodotus' 'Atys' was a son of King Croesus killed during a hunt, and the name occurs both as an 'ordinary' proper name in Phrygia, *and* as a royal title, *and* as a title of the priests of the Great Mother at Pessinus. How exactly these uses were related to one another, just how ancient they were, and how closely (if at all) they were connected with Cybele's partner, is uncertain.²⁷ But it is difficult to trace firm evidence of the divine Attis and his myth, in anything like the form we know them, further back than the Hellenistic period; perhaps, as some have argued, they were 'inventions' designed to explain, or legitimate, the priesthood and the increasingly bloody forms it was adopting.²⁸

Different kinds of uncertainty surround the ceremonies and rituals of Magna Mater in Rome in the centuries following her introduction. The fact is that the details of most Roman religious festivals are irretrievably lost to us. It is not that Roman writers are silent on their ritual calendar: a good deal of debate on the meaning of particular festivals survives, as do numerous poetic recreations of individual rituals, and countless casual references to particular ceremonies (not to mention Christian attacks on them). But we lack the kind of coherent account, aimed at elucidating the regular procedure of the ritual, that even the most partial participant observer might provide: who did what, in what order, and in what place?²⁹ We are left to piece together a template, and a history, of the proceedings from scattered allusions, and from literary texts whose aim was not to provide a description of the rituals concerned. The result may look, at first sight, reassuringly convincing ('The festival would

begin at dawn; participants would assemble at the temple; the priests would utter an opening prayer, before the sacrificial animals were brought in; under the emperor Hadrian there was a change . . . ' etc), but it is usually little more than a reassuring *fantasy*. The ceremonies of Magna Mater are no exception. Even to delineate a sketchy plan of events (which we must do if we wish to explore further) involves an alarming combination of over-simplification, imagination, reconstruction, filling-the-gaps, and joining-the-dots³⁰—as we can see in the case of the goddess's two main annual festivals.

The anniversary of the introduction of the goddess to Rome was commemorated by an annual cycle of games and feasting, the so-called Megalesia (4–10 April). These games included not only displays in the circus but theatrical performances that (at least originally) were presented directly in front of the Palatine temple of Magna Mater (see Fig. 12.1). It is possible that Terence's play, *The Eunuch*, was first presented at this festival: if so, it shows a nice sense of irony (given how prominent in the cult the image of the eunuch priests was).³¹ We have references to the temple being open to the Roman people throughout the period, and to the goddess being given offerings of *moretum*, a mixture of cheese and herbs, while the *galli* were free to range through the streets of the city and (on this one occasion) to beg for alms. At the same time, so the same stories go, the Roman elite held banquets together (*mutitationes*), inviting one another in turn, also apparently in honour of the goddess. How these different elements fit together is anyone's guess. But the festival is usually taken to have had a patrician or aristocratic character (though that is 'much exaggerated', in the view of Alvar, who is one of the most carefully sceptical recent students of the cult).³²

The other major cycle of rituals took place in March. A Roman calendar from the middle of the fourth century AD records a whole series of festival days from 15 to 27 March:³³

15 March	Canna intrat (the reed enters)
22 March	Arbor intrat (the tree enters)
24 March	Sanguem (blood)
25 March	Hilaria (joy)
26 March	Requietio (rest)
27 March	Lavatio (bathing)

Almost every detail of this ritual cycle remains obscure, although the title given to the individual days presumably indicates something

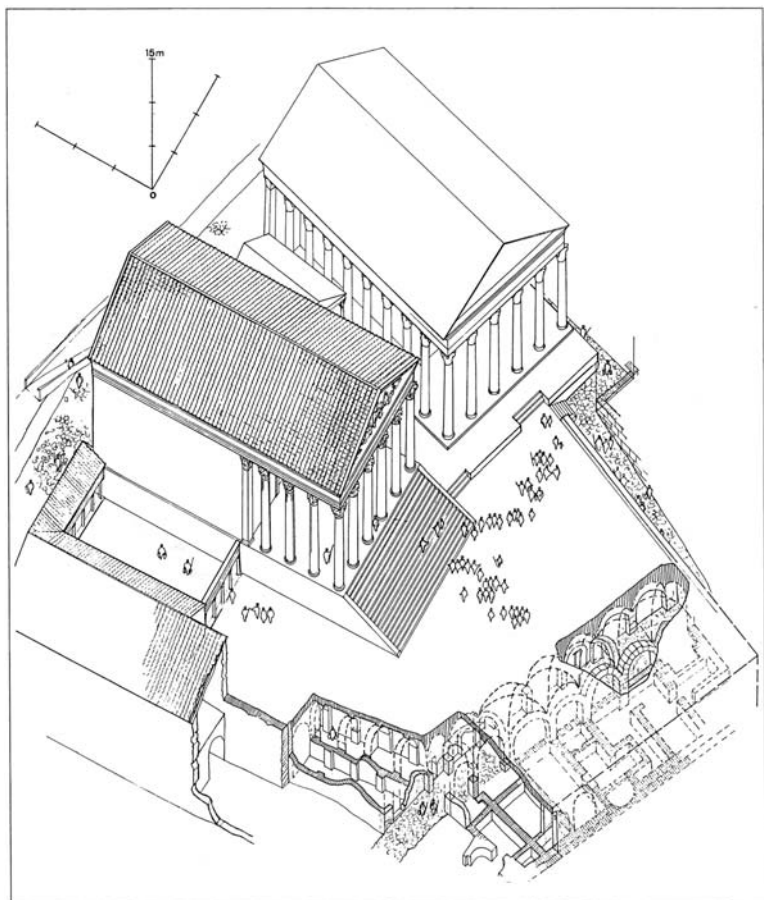


Fig. 12.1. Rome, south-west area of the Palatine Hill. Reconstruction drawing of the temples of Magna Mater (left) and Victoria in the Imperial period; in the Republic, the steps of the temple of Magna Mater were used to seat the audience at the theatrical performances of the Megalesia.

about their significance. We have only the faintest idea about the nature of the rituals enacted. Very little of the surviving evidence refers explicitly to any particular day of this cycle (most of the ritual details that modern scholars have ‘reconstructed’ are based on rather unspecific ancient allusions to the cult of the goddess, which may not have anything directly to do with this spring festival at all). What is more, the bulk of our evidence, such as it is, comes from Late Antique

and Christian writers, who may not accurately reflect what went on in their own day, still less what happened a few centuries earlier. The most detailed pagan treatment is the strange, mystical 'hymn' to the Mother of the Gods by the mid-fourth-century emperor Julian. The result is that we do not know whether, or how far, the rituals were derived from Eastern precedents. Nor do we know at what date or in what circumstances each of the individual festival days was introduced into the calendar (the fact that a particular ritual is not attested at an early period does not mean that it did not take place). Certainly the common idea that part of the cycle was 'officially' established by the emperor Claudius, with further reforms under Antoninus Pius, is supported by far less evidence than is often optimistically assumed.³⁴ All we can say with reasonable confidence is that most of the individual elements recorded in the fourth-century calendar had been established by the end of the second century AD, and the cycle as a whole related to the worship of Attis as well as Magna Mater.³⁵

There may, in fact, be some connection with Attis in the first festival of the 'entry of the reed' (at least, Julian refers to Attis being exposed as a baby on the river bank, and a funerary memorial to an *archigallus* from Ostia is, perhaps significantly, decorated with reeds³⁶). But that connection is detected more clearly on the days between 22 and 25 March. Hard as they are to interpret, our sources do seem to suggest that on 22 March the priests and other cult officials cut down a pine tree and carried it to the Palatine temple in a mock funeral procession, beating their breasts in mourning. It was on this occasion perhaps that an image of Attis was fixed to the tree, which itself evoked the young god, because Attis was said to have died under a pine tree after his self-castration, and in some versions of the myth, he was eventually granted immortality in the form of a pine tree.³⁷

The festival on 24 March (the day of blood) seems to have been marked, as its name suggests, by the shedding of human blood. To judge again from a compilation of a few (largely Christian) writers, the priests and other worshipers tore their flesh and shed their blood—and perhaps (though there is little firm evidence) it was on this day that the would-be priest castrated himself, so becoming a 'living Attis'. At some point during these proceedings, another conjecture has it, the pine tree may have been buried.³⁸ The next day (the day of joy) celebrated the resurrection of the god—or so the usual logic goes, supported this time by some rather unspecific passages of Julian's hymn.³⁹ Perhaps too there was a grand procession through

the city displaying an image of Magna Mater, precious works of art, silver, gold, and statues, to the accompaniment of music and dancing. Herodian certainly records that in AD 187 a plot was launched against the emperor Commodus on a festive day in the goddess's festival—because the general revelry and, especially, the fancy dress ('no office is so important or so sacrosanct that permission is refused anyone to put on its distinctive uniform and join in the fun') provided a good cover for an assassination attempt. But was this on the Hilaria or, as others imagine, the Lavatio?⁴⁰

For, after the entirely opaque Requietio ('merely a bridge to the Lavatio', as one recent commentator rather desperately observed⁴¹), the whole cycle was concluded on 27 March with a ritual that focused specifically on Magna Mater. On 'the day of washing', the cult statue of the goddess (the famous black meteorite, later perhaps set into a anthropomorphic or decorative frame) was taken in procession to the stream of the Almo, a small tributary of the Tiber. There, this and many other of the cult objects were washed before being brought back to the city and scattered with flowers in a procession, once again, of singing and dancing.⁴²

These concise versions of the rituals—which skate over many uncertainties of historical development, differences of the participants' perceptions, and, most important, the patterns of improvisation that flourish in any traditional ceremony under the cover of standardized orthopraxy—probably conceal as much as they reveal. A closer look at just one aspect of the Great Mother's Roman rituals, the characteristic sacrifice of the *taurobolium*, helps to expose the complexity not only of the rituals as practised, but also of the literary tradition around them, 'the rituals in ink'. It allows us, in this one area, to go further than the usual jigsaw-puzzle reconstruction of the celebrations.

THE TAUROBOLIUM

At least in the later period of the cult's history at Rome, a particular form of animal sacrifice was practiced in the worship of Magna Mater. The *taurobolium*, 'killing of the bull', seems to have involved the slaughter of an animal in such a way that the blood was an important element, possibly spattering the person conducting the

sacrificing—quite contrary to the practice of traditional civic sacrifice in Rome, in which the blood was carefully collected and the officiants never sullied.⁴³ On some occasions, if not always, it involved also the removal, and special dedication, of the testicles of the bull.

Some of these details are known from the testimony of the participants themselves. For the participants at such sacrifices sometimes commemorated the event with an inscription noting briefly the date of its occurrence, the circumstances, and the principal officiants. Over 120 of these inscriptions survive, from Rome and elsewhere, giving (admittedly at no great length) an insider's view of the ritual. A few of the texts seem to support the suggestion of some kind of mystical significance attaching to the sacrifice: one, for example, talks about 'rebirth into eternity'. But others have a quite different focus; they were performed, like many Roman public sacrifices, 'for the safety of the emperor'—or so some of the inscriptions insist.⁴⁴ This is a common ambivalence in the Roman rituals of Magna Mater and their representation (on the one hand private and mystical, on the other public and part of the official repertoire of the Roman state) to which I shall return.

As with other aspects of the cult of Magna Mater, there has been an enormous amount of discussion of this form of sacrifice, and plenty of diverse speculation (it is often little more than speculation) on its origin and significance. The idea that it harks back to some primitive form of bull-hunting has proved popular, though based on no firm evidence at all.⁴⁵ Unlike many other aspects of the cult's festivals and ceremonies, however, there is a key literary text, which evokes the ritual in some detail. Rather than revisit all the unfathomable problems with the precise development and significance of this sacrifice, I shall explore what, if any, insight into the *taurobolium* this text might offer—and how it has been exploited, or rejected, by those who have sought to reconstruct and understand the ritual. My aim is to throw light on some of the very processes by which we can (or cannot) access ancient rituals and festivals.

The text in question is a passage of a late fourth-century Christian poem by Prudentius, from his cycle on martyrdom, the *Peristephanon*. Near the end of the long tenth poem in the collection, the Christian martyr Romanus is taunted by his persecutor Asclepiades, who asks if the blood in which Romanus is covered is really his own—or whether it is, in fact, someone else's. Romanus insists that it is his own, 'not that of a bull [*bubulus*]'. 'Do you realize, you

wretched pagan,' the martyr goes on, 'what blood I'm talking about—the sacred blood of that bull of yours, that you soak yourself in after the sacrificial slaughter' (ll. 1004–10). Forty lines follow in which Romanus describes how the pagan priest (*summus sacerdos*) descends into a pit, how planks are laid across above him, and the bull sacrificed so that its blood drips down through the chinks to bathe the man standing beneath. 'Once all the blood is spent and the *flamines* have dragged the stiff corpse from the planking, the *pontifex* emerges from beneath, awful to behold, and displays his drenched head, his terrible beard, his dripping fillets and soaking garments' (ll. 1010–50). The *taurobolium* is not explicitly mentioned, nor Magna Mater (under any of her titles), nor her trademark priests (*pontifex* and *flamines* are titles drawn directly from mainstream civic religion). Yet there has been little doubt that the intended reference is to the cult of the Great Mother and its distinctive bull sacrifice: the question is whether this is a relatively accurate description of the proceedings, or a Christian fantasy with a wholly different agenda that tells us (next to) nothing about the *taurobolium*.

Many scholars throughout the twentieth century took Prudentius' account as a relatively accurate representation of the ritual, at least in its final phases of development in the Late Empire. A memorable drawing by K. H. E. De Jong (see Fig. 12.2), closely based on the passage of Prudentius—picturing the priest under the planks, wetted by the blood of the bull—was much reprinted as an authentic reconstruction of the *taurobolium*.⁴⁶ It was even carefully copied and dramatized in 2005 in an early episode of the HBO television series, *Rome*: Atia the mother of Octavian, worried about the fate of her young son, who has gone to Gaul to deliver a horse to Julius Caesar, decides to propitiate Cybele by taking a (very bloody) *taurobolium*. (Most classical critics of the programme did not object to the dramatic reconstruction in general, but to the implication that this particular form of the ritual was practised as early as the first century BC⁴⁷.) Meanwhile, archaeological sites connected with Magna Mater were scoured to find traces of what was called a *fossa sanguinis* or 'pit of blood' where the sacrifice might have taken place (the term *fossa sanguinis* was actually borrowed from Ovid's description of the magical rituals of Medea in the *Metamorphoses* and is never found in connection with Magna Mater—but it seemed to fit the bill just too well⁴⁸). One plausible candidate was found in the sanctuary of Magna Mater at Ostia, another at Neuss in Germany.⁴⁹

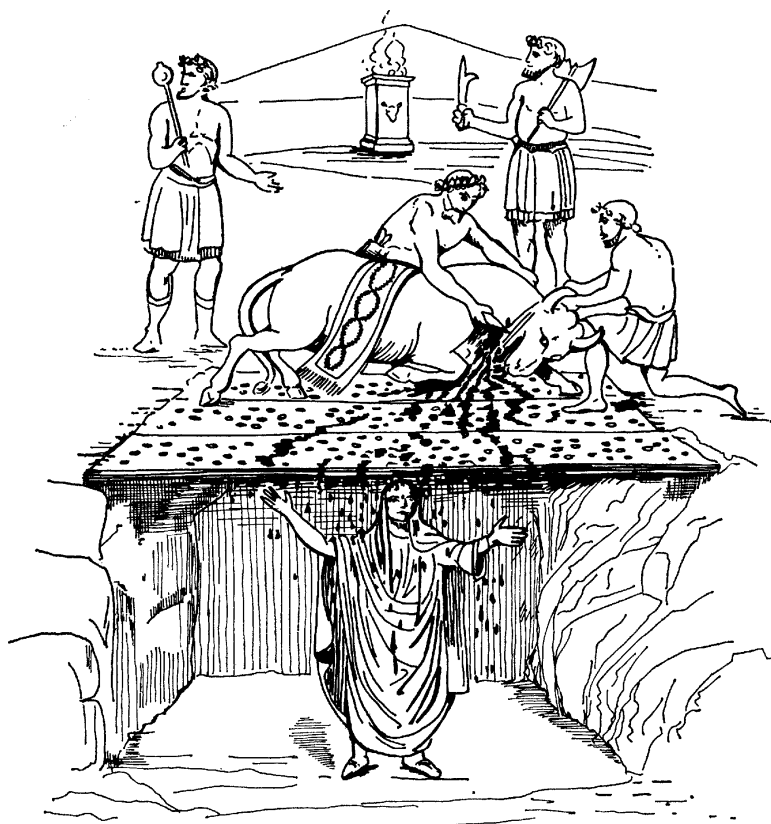


Fig. 12.2. *Taurobolium*: The 'classic' reconstruction of the *taurobolium*, based on Prudentius' account—the sacrificant in a pit is showered by the blood of the bull killed above him.

In recent years, however, historians have expressed considerable scepticism about Prudentius' account. There is no reason to suppose that Prudentius had any accurate knowledge of the ritual, still less that he had ever witnessed a *taurobolium*. No other ancient reference to the ceremony suggests anything like the procedure he evokes (with the pit and the rain of blood), and even the supposed archaeological traces have proved illusory (the *fossa sanguinis* at Ostia is nothing more than a cistern, the example at Neuss—whatever its function—is not even in a temple of Magna Mater). The most up to date studies would see Prudentius' account as playing on the idea of a perverted

pagan baptism (a 'stylistic exercise', as Borgeaud has it), or sheer fantasy, of no relevance to the ritual of *taurobolium* at all.⁵⁰

The case has been well made; I am quite sure that Prudentius' evocation of the sacrifice does not provide a reliable guide to the procedures at a *taurobolium* at any period. Yet Prudentius' long poem (1,140 lines) is much more complex, artful, and surprising than it is usually assumed to be by historians of ancient religion, and—within the context of the whole poem—there is more significance in his 'description' of the *taurobolium* than a simple parody of baptism or mere fantasy.⁵¹ Even a brief summary can hint at some of the multi-layered complexity:

After an invocation to the martyr Romanus, the poem starts with a description of his arrest and his entry into the court-room. His prosecutor, Asclepiades, accuses him of being a subversive rabble rouser, comparing him to the mythical giants (l. 84), Romanus predictably stands up for his faith, and is tortured by the lash. Rejoicing in the beating, he ridicules the customs and beliefs of paganism, including the myth and rituals of Magna Mater (ll. 154–60, referring to the procession of the goddess's image at the Megalesia and the Lavatio; ll. 196–200, referring to the castration of Attis), ending his long speech with praise of the Christian god. Asclepiades replies (starting l. 396) by attacking Romanus for vilifying the traditions that made Rome great, and tells Romanus to pray to the gods on behalf of the emperor. When Romanus refuses, he is again tortured, the cuts to his breast now revealing the bone beneath (ll. 454–5); but he revels in his own suffering, with another long speech—this time denouncing the sins of the flesh. Asclepiades retaliates by ordering that Romanus' cheeks be pierced. To no effect, for the martyr simply rejoices that he now has more mouths through which to speak of Christ. (ll. 562–3).

After a further round of argument, Romanus offers a resolution. Let them find a very young child and ask him whose religion is right. Asclepiades agrees and picks out a baby just weaned (ll. 661–4). When Romanus asks him whether it is right to worship Christ and God the Father or gods in a thousand shapes, the baby replies eloquently that God is only one. Asclepiades discovers that his mother had taught the baby to think in this way, he punishes her by now torturing her son. But as a hardline Christian she is unmoved, merely urging the child to endure, like the brave boy Isaac (l. 748) and others. So Asclepiades imprisons the baby and returns to the torture of Romanus, before deciding to kill both of them. The baby is easily put to death (his mother

catches the blood in her hands, ll. 841–4), but the pyre that is prepared for Romanus is extinguished in a shower of rain.

So, frustrated, the prosecutor has a doctor, Aristo, cut out the martyr's tongue. But when Romanus continues to talk, Asclepiades accuses Aristo of bungling—at which point, in his own defence, the doctor suggests experimenting on an animal (ll. 991–5). It is at this point that Asclepiades suggests that Romanus is dripping with fake blood, and the martyr replies that this is not like the pagan sacrifice of the bull (ll. 1006–50). After further denunciation of pagan ritual, including the self-harm and self-castration of the priests of Magna Mater (ll. 1061–75), Romanus is strangled. Though Asclepiades reported the events to the emperor, his words decayed with time—not so, the poem concludes, the report made by the angel of God.

This is a highly literary, sometimes satiric, poem making intense thematic play with the interlocking themes of blood, tongues, perforation, and sacrifice, astutely cross-referencing some of the major tropes of classical Roman culture and, on more than one occasion, returning to images drawn from the cult of Magna Mater (including the Lavatio). Take, for example, the names of the protagonists. Some at least must have been handed down from the earlier (possibly reliable) tradition, but they are here exploited to make a literary and ideological point: it is surely significant that the Christian martyr is called 'the Roman', or so we could interpret his name 'Romanus';⁵² while the name of the prosecutor, Asclepiades, strongly calls to mind the god Asclepius—and provides an echo with the repeated use of medical themes and terminology throughout the poem.⁵³ More striking perhaps is the glaring and loaded quotation from the most celebrated speech of pagan Rome's most famous orator. After the shower of rain has extinguished the pyre built to burn the martyr, Asclepiades returns to the attack with the phrase '*Quousque tandem summus his nobis magus / inludet . . .*' ('How long, in the end, will the great sorcerer make mockery of us?' l. 868). This is a partial quotation of the opening line of Cicero's first speech against Catiline ('*Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra*' / 'How long, in the end, will you abuse our patience, Catilina?'), and it serves in part to mark out Asclepiades as an archetypal (if terribly clichéd) Roman orator. But more is at stake in the comparison. The alert reader would surely here reflect on the ultimate fate of Cicero and the fact that after his death, his tongue (like Romanus) was excised from his head, pinned up on the Roman rostra, and repeatedly pierced—with hairpins. The

fact that the perpetrator of this awful deed was Mark Antony's wife Fulvia serves, of course, to effeminize the pagan persecutor of the true (Christian) Roman 'Romanus'.⁵⁴ It offers a further element in the complex imagery of torture, speech, and bodily harm that defines the poem.

The key, then, to reading the account of the sacrifice is to see it neither as straight description of the ritual nor as nugatory fantasy (nor indeed as a baptismal parody)—but as a literary engagement with some of Prudentius' main themes, re-presented (here as elsewhere in the poem) through the lens of the cult of the Great Mother and her rituals. The shower of blood (l. 1031) echoes the shower of rain that puts out the flame of the pyre (l. 860), the cracks (*rimae*) in the planking over the pit echo the piercing holes (also *rimae*) in the martyr's face (ll. 449, 566), the wave of blood pouring onto the priest (l. 1028) echoes the wave of blood that pours from the baby onto the mother (ll. 842–3), as well as the flowing blood of the castrated *galli* (l. 1070). As a description of the practice of the *taurobolium*, this is, surely, flagrant fiction. But the emphasis on blood and mutilation and dismemberment throughout this poem is nonetheless a literary reflection on the cult of the Great Mother—and one which itself echoes some of the representations of the *galli*, both from inside and outside the cult, that we are about to explore.

THE *GALLI*: REJECTION AND INCORPORATION

The eunuch priests were not the only cult officials of Magna Mater and Attis in Rome. There was, it seems, an elaborate cult organization and numerous subgroups of officials—both male and female, Roman and Eastern, of high and low social status. Their interrelationship and history are as murky as many other aspects of this religion. But it is clear enough that three groups had some specific association with the rituals of March: the *cannophoroi* ('reed-bearers', connected with the ceremonies of the fifteenth); the *dendrophoroi* ('tree-bearers', connected with the pine tree); and the *doryphoroi*, or *hastiferi* ('spear-bearers', maybe involved in one of the processions).⁵⁵ Likewise, the *ballatores Cybelae* (the 'dancers of Cybele') perhaps played a part in accompanying processions of the goddess during the same spring cycle of rituals—or they may have been involved in the shows at the

Megalesia.⁵⁶ Other officials perhaps had a wider range of responsibilities. Several 'priests' and 'priestesses' of Magna Mater (*sacerdotes*) are attested in Rome;⁵⁷ one guess (though no more than that) is that they had a more general oversight of the religion, its adherents, and its rituals; or it may have simply been a loose, generic term for those who held some office in the cult (as several of these *sacerdotes* were ex-slaves, the latter is perhaps more likely).

However, in the Roman imagination, it was the eunuch *galli* who, above all others, stood for the cult of Magna Mater. The position of *archigallus* is also attested, though as so often the details of this position (and the relationship of *archigalli* to plain *galli*) are far less clear than is often assumed. The title suggests 'chief *gallus*', and inscriptions show that at least some *archigalli* were Roman citizens. Hence comes the idea that this was a senior priesthood, not marked by self-castration (as legal rulings of the second century AD completely and expressly prohibited the castration of any Roman, self-inflicted or otherwise⁵⁸); perhaps, so this argument runs, the archigallate was instituted under the 'reform' of the cult by Antoninus Pius.⁵⁹ But the funerary images of these men hint at an effeminate appearance (see Fig. 12.3), and we have no firm evidence either that Antoninus' reform is much more than a convenient myth of modern scholarship—and, besides, the mid-second-century date for the founding of the 'archigallate' is an inference based solely on the date of their first attestation in the surviving evidence (always a fragile basis for a chronological argument).

Even though the *galli* were the most prominent priestly symbol of the cult in Roman literature, once again we know very little in detail about their cultic role or qualifications. One obvious area of debate has been whether or not they were literally self-castrated—and if they were, whether that involved the full castration of both penis and testicles.⁶⁰ Roman writers regularly claim that they were eunuchs (castrated, it is said, at their entry to the priesthood with a stone or broken pot—metal instruments were forbidden⁶¹); and I have consistently referred to them as such. But the truth is that medical and physiological parallels make it seem extremely unlikely that full castration was regularly, if ever, practiced (blood loss or infection would have made death the virtually certain outcome).⁶² Perhaps we should imagine that a lesser form of mutilation or scarification was the norm, legitimated by the figure of Attis and by a very few, dramatic, paraded examples of actual castration performed by only

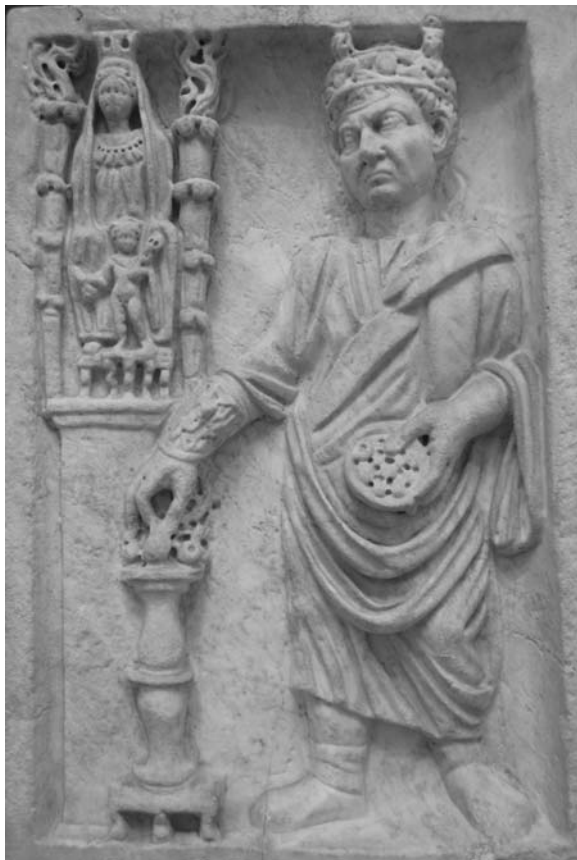


Fig. 12.3. *Archigallus*: A funerary image of a priest of Magna Mater from Ostia; third century AD. Though the physiognomy is masculine enough, note the swathed robes and the elaborate armband. Ostia inv. 160.

the most exceptional members of the cult (and presumably of testicles only—a procedure that is much easier to survive). Who knows? But whatever their precise physiological status, they stalk the pages of Roman literature as mad, frenzied, foreign eunuchs.

To understand the role and significance of the *galli* we need to adopt a rather different approach. It is conventional (and convenient, as a first step) to describe the cult of Magna Mater as I have (for the most part) so far—to attempt to define the nature of its rituals, the obligations and qualifications of its cult officials, and to delineate its history and

development. But to do so is to miss the point. And it inevitably leads to repeated statements of regret and disappointment about what the Romans fail to tell us, and about the contradictions and inconsistencies that get in the way of a coherent narrative. These disappointments are real: there is much that we would like to know about Roman religion and ritual that Roman writers do not tell us. But to concentrate on the absences and regrets conceals from view what should be the centre of investigation: the distinctive *Roman* ways of presenting and representing religious practice in poetry, in law, in the visual arts, in history, in humour, in all their cultural forms. If we are to understand Roman religion, we must enter, explore, even celebrate, that apparently frustrating gap between Roman preoccupations and our own, between what the Romans tell us and what we would like to know; we must try to see the inconsistencies in the surviving evidence as important features which *constitute* the story of the cult (not as features which prevent us telling that story).

In this section, taking my cue from my brief analysis of Prudentius' evocation of the cult, I shall consider more closely Roman representations of the *galli* and the patterns of contradiction and conflict in those representations. I am concerned here not with how the religion was organized in practice, with what really happened at its festivals, or with whether the *galli* were really castrated, but with the imaginative insistence on the cult in Roman poetry, legal regulation, and history-writing. Part of that insistence concentrates on marking and remarking the opposition between the practices of the cult of Magna Mater and traditional Roman norms. It is an insistence on distance and difference, particularly focused on the eunuch priests, their rituals and their behaviour.

The passage from Juvenal quoted at the beginning of this chapter is typical, highlighting, as it does, the foreignness, turbulence, and lack of (Roman) control in the eunuchs. This is a common theme in Roman literature,⁶³ and it is often combined with vilification of the sexual habits and preferences of the *galli*. Important here is not so much the simple claim that the eunuchs were sexually active,⁶⁴ but the type of sexual activity involved, activity that flagrantly transgressed Roman norms. For example, in this epigram of Martial, the fondness of the *galli* for oral sex is the target of attack. Martial writes as if speaking to a priest called Baeticus.

To Baeticus, a eunuch priest:
 What, licking women down inside there, Gallus?
 The thing you should be sucking is a phallus.
 They cut your cock off, but not so to bed,
 Cunt-Lover: what needs doctoring now's your head.
 For while your missing member can't but fail,
 Your tongue still breaks Cybele's rule: it's male.⁶⁵

The double edge of the transgression is clear. The *galli* are portrayed as breaking the laws of nature by becoming 'women', or at least only 'half-men' (castrated, dressed in women's clothes, long-haired—the apt sexual partner, as Martial has it, for a man). But they compound that crime by not obeying the rules of either their new or their old gender. Not only do they continue to play an active male sexual role, but by taking the male part, they (inevitably perhaps) pervert the norm of phallic penetration that was the only acceptable form of heterosexual activity in Roman orthodoxy. In the Roman imagination, the eunuch *gallus* was both a non-man and a man who broke the rules of proper male behaviour.

It was not only in poetry that this opposition was constructed between the activities of the *galli* and the accepted Roman norms. In writing the history of Rome, in recording Roman legal decisions, ancient authors likewise paraded the 'unacceptability' of the eunuch priests. For example, in his *Roman Antiquities*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus lists the 'Phrygian' aspects of the cult of Magna Mater and records a 'law and decree of the senate' forbidding any involvement in these by native Romans.

The priest and priestess of the goddess are Phrygians, and it is they who carry her image in procession through the city, begging alms in her name according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breasts and striking their timbrels while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honour of the Mother of the Gods. But by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman walks in procession through the city arrayed in a multi-coloured robe, begging alms or escorted by flute-players, or worships the goddess with the Phrygian ceremonies.⁶⁶

This passage not only repeats the now familiar association of the *galli* with frenzy and loss of control but adds a new element of contrast with 'normal' religious or priestly behaviour—begging and the collection of alms. In traditional Roman religion, the role of the priest was inextricably linked with the role of civic benefactor, and the

offering of public sacrifice was one of the most visible symbols of the elite's 'generosity' toward the Roman people.⁶⁷ The priests of Magna Mater reversed that norm: they were the recipients not the providers of generosity—beggars not benefactors.

Other texts directly concern the castration of the *galli*. We have details of a legal ruling by Emperor Hadrian and others that explicitly forbade the (forced or voluntary) castration of any Roman, whether free or slave.⁶⁸ This general prohibition by implication reinforced the cultural exclusion of the eunuch *galli*, putting them outside the boundaries of proper Roman society. But that exclusion could also be paraded in what might seem to us the minutiae of Roman legal decision making. Valerius Maximus, in the first century AD, records the case of a disputed inheritance. A *gallus* of Magna Mater, one Genucius, had received a legacy, which had been ratified by a Roman magistrate. On appeal, a consul disallowed the inheritance on the grounds that Genucius was 'neither man nor woman' and so was ineligible to inherit under Roman law. Genucius was not even allowed to plead his case in public, 'for fear that the tribunal of the magistrates should be polluted by his obscene presence and corrupt voice'.⁶⁹ The *gallus* is here seen as so alien that he cannot come within the terms of Roman law.

These strident expressions of Roman distaste for the *galli* can be interpreted in various ways. As I have already noted, one common view among historians used to seeing the introduction of Magna Mater into Rome as a classic case of 'biting off more than one can chew.'

The Romans had brought their ancestral (i.e., Trojan) Goddess to the new country and provided her with proper accommodation, only then to discover how widely and profoundly their own attitude differed from the Asian mentality.⁷⁰

Or, as another writer put it, 'The Romans probably did not fully realize [the cult's] real nature when they admitted it to the city.'⁷¹ In these terms, the insistent vilification of the *galli*, or the stress on their legal disability, is the predictable Roman reaction to the true character of the cult. It was one way of handling a goddess and her priests who could not simply be sent away again, but who could never be comfortably incorporated into Roman religious practice and traditions. Unsatisfactory, and unfashionable, as this approach now is, at least as an overall interpretation of the cult's history in Rome, we should perhaps be prepared to accept that a number of Romans might well

have thought this way. How could this 'ancestral' goddess be equipped with priests and rituals that seemed so decidedly foreign?

We should also bear in mind some more fundamental religious differences. That is to say, the paraded opposition between the *galli* and the priests of the traditional civic cults could also be understood as a reflection of the opposition between two different and conflicting means of access to divine power at Rome. On the one hand was the routinized, formal approach of traditional priesthood, embedded in the political and social hierarchies of the city. On the other hand were the claims of the *galli* that they enjoyed direct inspiration from the gods—an inspiration that came with frenzy and trance, open to anyone, without consideration of political or social status. Seen in this way, Roman literary representations of the *galli* are partly a reflection of Roman anxiety about what that religious alternative implied, and its challenge to the position of the Roman elite as the sole guardians of access to the gods. It was also, no doubt, partly a reflection of the claims made by the *galli* themselves, in presenting their own alternative access to divine power.

This raises important issues about the view from inside the cult itself. Necessarily, much of our understanding of the religion of Magna Mater at Rome is based on an 'outsider's view'—on the one hand, the ribaldry, criticism, and anxiety of those writers who cast themselves as external observers, on the other hand (as we shall shortly explore in more detail), the various attempts to incorporate the goddess into Roman orthodox tradition. If we leave aside the surviving comedies that were presented at the Megalesia, we have very little evidence that comes to us from the heart of the cult, from its priests and practitioners themselves. But we do have some. Impressive tombstones of Magna Mater's priests from Rome and Ostia, display those they commemorate in a way that is by no means incompatible with the image conjured up by Martial and Juvenal. One memorable memorial (see Fig. 12.4) depicts a priest vaunting some features and accessories—the whips and jewellery—that are the objects of the Roman poets' derision. Even more striking is the memorial of an *archigallus*, found at Ostia, now in the Vatican, which appears to be a direct trumping of another theme of Roman attack on the cult. For Roman critics enjoyed punning on the word '*gallus*' itself, which, apart from its religious sense, could mean not only 'Gaul', but also 'cockerel' or 'rooster'.⁷² This particular sculpture represents the 'archigallus of the colony of Ostia', proudly sitting on



Fig. 12.4. *Archigallus*: The tomb memorial of a priest of Magna Mater from Ostia; third century AD. Note the elaborate jewelled armband and the branch for whipping and self-flagellation. Ostia inv. 158.

the top of his memorial—in the shape of a cockerel.⁷³ At the very least, these images make it clear that there was a dialogue between the self-imaging of the *galli* and the external Roman critique.

Overlaps of a different kind can be seen in the extraordinary series of curse tablets found in the sanctuary of Magna Mater and Isis at Mainz.⁷⁴ Some of these fragmentary and difficult texts clearly harp on the bloody, castrating, self-lacerating aspects of the cult, as these extracts show:

Mater Magna, I ask you by your sanctuary and your divine force. Gemella who stole my bracelets (I ask you) may she . . . so that no part of her be healthy. Just as the *galli* have cut themselves, so (may) she want to do . . .⁷⁵

Whoever has defrauded this money, [neither] is he the better (for it), nor we the worse . . . [Just as] the *galli* lacerate themselves and sever their genitals, so may he cut . . . his breast (?) . . . Just as the adherents of Magna Mater and the priests of Bellona and the MAGALI spill their hot blood, which is cold (when) it touches the ground, so his . . . his abilities, his thinking and his wits . . .⁷⁶

The spilling of blood and the bodily harm that is such a central theme in Prudentius' hostile evocation of the religion of Magna Mater, is here seen as part of the cult's internal discourse. As with the tomb images of the *galli*, this is presumably evidence of much more of a dialogue between the external and internal representations of the cult than we are ever used to thinking—or can ever systematically recapture.

So far, so good. But the problem is that these kinds of representations are only part of the Roman story. They emphasize distance, difference, and hostility; but there are equally insistent attempts at incorporation—attempts to portray the cult not as alien but as part of Roman religious practice. The jokes of Juvenal and Martial, the legal controls over the *galli*, and the repeated vilifications of the non-Roman aspects of Magna Mater and her priests must be set alongside another, very different type of literary image—some aspects of which we have already glimpsed.

We saw in the accounts (part history, part myth) of the introduction of Magna Mater to Rome clear literary attempts to 'Romanize' the cult: from the stress on the role of the traditional elite (including the 'best man' in the state) in bringing the cult to Rome, to the miracle of Claudia Quinta. One of the most vivid versions of the miracle is found in Herodian's *History* where the woman in question is not merely a matron, but is precisely identified as a Vestal Virgin who is under suspicion of having broken her vow of chastity.⁷⁷ In making the goddess's successful entry into the city depend on the action of a Vestal—a member of one of the most ancient Roman priesthoods and a guardian of the sacred hearth of the city—Herodian is forcefully asserting the Roman legitimacy of the cult. Likewise we saw that the inscriptions recording the *taurobolium* sometimes presented the ritual as a private mystical experience, but on other occasions as a sacrifice for the safety of the emperor himself.⁷⁸

There are other examples of the incorporation of the cult of the goddess into the symbolic repertoire of Roman state power. The image of frenzy, dancing, and oriental ecstasy is only one side of the picture of the Great Mother's rituals. The other side shows a cult whose ceremonies overlap with those of Roman civic religion. Even the cycle of festivals in March, often assumed by modern scholars to be the most extremely Eastern aspect of the cult, can be shown to include a range of distinctively Roman elements. Particularly striking was the public procession on one ritual occasion (whether the *Hilaria* or *Lavatio*), with its display of an image of Magna Mater and other

precious works of art. The most splendid of those precious objects were, according to Herodian, the treasures of the emperor's palace, carried through the streets of Rome in honour of the Great Mother—a public parade of the symbiosis between imperial power and the power of the goddess. But on other occasions too throughout this series of festivities, the participation of the traditional Roman public priests is at least implied. For example, one of the four major colleges of priests, the *Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis*, seems to have been associated, alongside the *galli* and other functionaries of Magna Mater, at the ceremony of Lavatio and the springtime rituals of the Salian Priests (whose traditional Roman function was connected with the opening of the military campaigning season in March) could eventually be seen as part of the cycle in honour of Magna Mater.⁷⁹ This reciprocity is in stark contrast to the sense of complete separation sometimes evoked between the wild excesses of the oriental cult and the sobriety of traditional Roman religion.

But perhaps the most striking indication of the inseparability of the *galli* from the centre of Roman political and religious life is their place in the symbolic geography of the city of Rome. It is true that part of the image of their marginality lies in their confinement to their temple precinct. Occasionally they were allowed, it was said, to process through the streets or beg for alms, but normally (in contrast to traditional Roman priestly groups) they were visible only at their temple. But where was that temple? It was not safely hidden away, remote from the centre of civic action. It was on the Palatine Hill, a stone's throw from the forum, at the very heart of the city—an area occupied at the time of the cult's introduction by the houses of the grandest of the Roman elite, and later by the imperial palace (see Fig. 12.5). It is hardly an exaggeration to claim that the *galli* were the Roman emperor's closest neighbours. Far from an image of separation, from the point of view of the Roman onlooker, the emperor and the eunuch priests were bound together in the same field of vision.

How does this image of incorporation of the cult of Magna Mater relate to the other equally insistent image of its rejection and marginality? The inconsistency seems at first sight awkward, even nonsensical. There is an obvious temptation to try to rationalize and to construct a history of the cult that would erode the apparent incompatibility between its two very different representations. Could there be, for example, a chronological explanation? Are we dealing with a situation in which the boundaries between the cult of Magna Mater

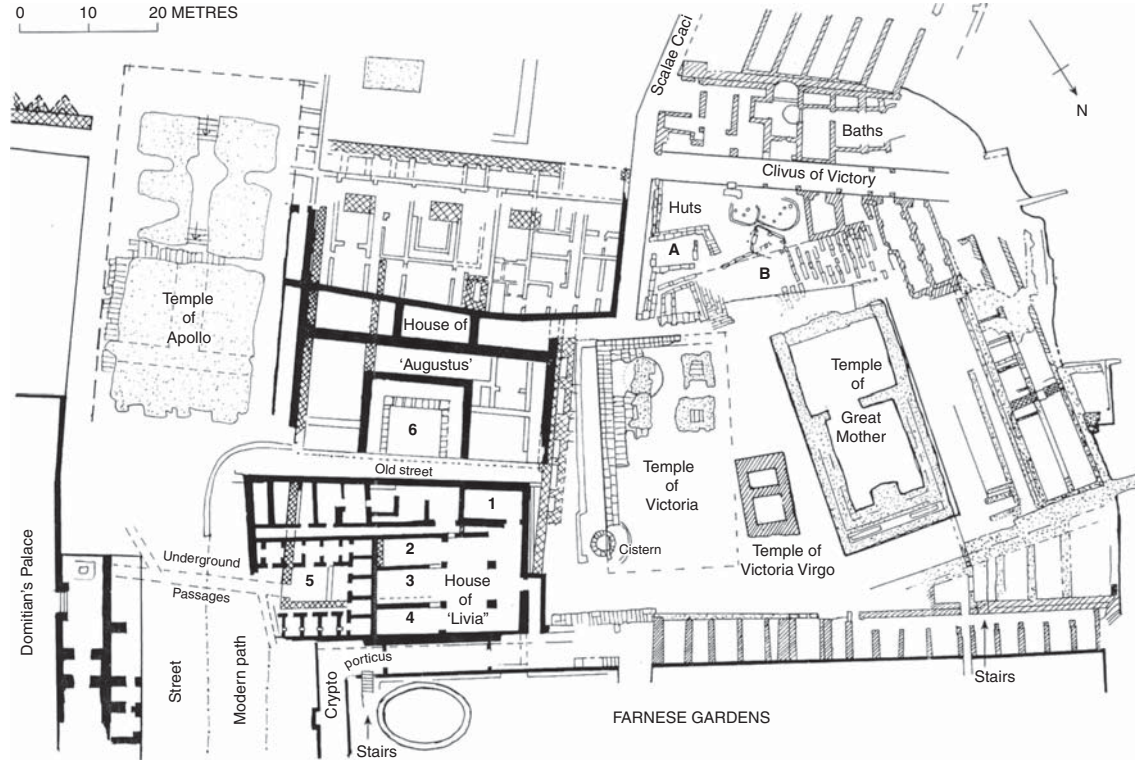


Fig. 12.5. Rome, south-west area of the Palatine Hill. Plan of the temples of Magna Mater and Victory seen in relation to the early imperial residences ('House of Augustus' and 'House of Livia').

and traditional Roman religion, at first rigidly guarded, gradually broke down, as emperors and the state authorities found it useful to assimilate rather than reject the power of the goddess? Or should we imagine the cult divided throughout its history into two very different forms of worship: on the one hand, a 'domesticated' version, easily incorporated into Roman practice; on the other, the wild extremes of the Phrygian version of the cult, offensive to Roman sensibilities, and constantly reviled in Roman literature?⁸⁰

Such historical reconstructions may provide part of the answer to the apparently conflicting images of the cult. It would not be unlikely, for example, that the interconnections between the worship of Magna Mater and traditional state religion increased over time, and that some of the initial shock at the apparent foreignness of the priests of the goddess wore off as they became a more familiar presence in the city. And, to be sure, different elements in the cult and its rituals had very different character, attracted different types of participants, and displayed different degrees of 'Roman-ness'. Most obviously the 'Phrygian' festivals in March—though including, as I have shown, many more 'Roman' elements than has often been supposed—still present a contrast with the Megalesia in April, which was much more connected with the Roman elite (though exactly *how* much more remains debated).

But no reconstruction can ever successfully turn the story of the cult of Magna Mater from a sometimes bewildering set of conflicting images into a neatly consistent narrative. There are always inconvenient 'facts' that cannot magically be made to fit; the conjuring trick always fails. The intense and unresolved debates among modern scholars on apparently central issues of the cult (the significance of the *taurobolium* and whether or when Roman citizens were allowed to become *galli* or *archigalli*) are themselves proof of that failure. These debates are not the consequence, as we often imagine, of inadequate information; they are the consequence of a rich variety of evidence, offering sometimes staggeringly different pictures of the subject at issue; they are the consequence of undeniable and important inconsistency in ancient representations of the cult. Rather than try to erode or abolish it, we should turn our attention much more closely to the nature of that inconsistency: what is at stake in the parading of two such different images of the cult of Magna Mater?

DEFINING ROMAN RELIGION

There have been many discussions about the relationship between Roman traditional religion and the Roman state. It is now almost a cliché to insist that traditional religious practice was embedded in and inseparable from the politics of the state; that is it cannot be usefully differentiated as 'religion'.⁸¹ However, the interface between cults such as that of Magna Mater and the complex nexus of power, hierarchy, and a sense of identity, that together adds up to 'the Roman state', remains less intensely explored. For the most part discussions on this topic assume a much more clearly articulated sense of 'religion': although the precise details of any definition are contested, not only do we write and talk about the cults of Magna Mater, Isis, Mithras, and so on as 'religions', but we also contrast them (as I have in this chapter) to 'Roman state religion' and to the 'Roman state'—as if, in this context, these were identifiable agencies, capable of interaction with each other. Up to a point, this is a valid approach; for these religions were indeed instrumental in the process by which, over the period of the Roman empire, the embedded Roman state religion came to be defined as 'religion'. But it is that process to which we should turn our attention.

As we have seen, any attempt to analyse the interaction between the cult of Magna Mater and the traditional state religion of Rome ultimately breaks down in paradox. It is not that we cannot suggest plausible patterns of relationship between the two. The problem is that there appear to be two equally insistent, contradictory, and co-existent models: the first defining the cult of Magna Mater as a political and religious challenge to the routinized forms of state religion at Rome, which were embedded in (and legitimated) the political and social hierarchy of the city; the second suggesting the assimilation of the most potent symbolic forms of the cult by the dominant religious and political order at Rome (in particular the emperor)—so making Magna Mater a support rather than a threat to the state. How is this to be understood? Let me suggest one model.

At the heart of traditional Roman religious culture we find dark uncertainty about its own identity. To put this most simply, what was to count as 'Roman' tradition in a world in which all kinds of 'Other' activities come within the vast geopolitical domain which can be defined as 'Roman'? What was it to be Roman in any definable sense,

when Rome was synonymous with the world? This uncertainty is necessarily implicated in Rome's understanding and incorporation of 'foreign' cults. At stake here is not the state's reaction to such unfamiliar or disconcerting cultic activity; much more important are the ways these cults provided a symbolic focus for defining the identity of the state. 'State religion' and 'foreign cults' were not two opposing poles. That is not only because anything we might term 'Roman religion' was always already a complex, accreting amalgam—comprised (as Roman mythology itself insisted) of 'the foreign' from its very earliest history. It was also because the discourse around 'foreign' religious ideas and practices was one of the contexts in which Roman identity could be defined.

It is in this conflicting, shifting, and uncertain debate that we must locate the puzzling and contradictory Roman representations of the cult of Magna Mater. Like some other strikingly foreign religious forms imported (at official instigation or, at least, with official tolerance) into the city of Rome, this cult and its priests came to act as a privileged focus of debate on the nature of the Roman and the foreign. It was not so much a question of whether the eunuch priests challenged the established Roman order or were relatively safe supporters of the symbolic power of the traditional hierarchy. Both alternatives are possible. Much more important is the fact that different constructions of their role—their means of access to divine power, their gender and sexual relations, and their position alongside or in opposition to the traditional priestly groups of the city—effectively amounted to different claims and conflicting counterclaims on how the Roman was to be defined: on proper Roman behaviour; on the proper exercise of Roman power; and on proper Roman relations with the divine.

To put it simply—as the ancient material on the cult of Magna Mater shows richly—debate on the 'foreign' was always inseparable from the question of what it was to be 'Roman'. In Juvenal's words, 'In come the devotees of the Mother of the Gods . . .'

NOTES

1. For the complex literary and cultural context of this poem, see Henderson (1987). The 'Phrygian bonnet' refers to the distinctive eastern head-dress of these eunuch priests.

2. In this chapter, I use these titles interchangeably (though well aware that any fuller study of this cult could usefully explore the different resonance and significance of the different names).
3. The classic collections of sources on these priests are Graillot (1912), 387–19, and Sanders (1972); and more briefly Vermaseren (1977), 96–101. More recent discussions include Hales (2002), and the latest works cited in n. 5.
4. I use the term ‘traditional’ rather than ‘official’ cults advisedly (as the cult of Magna Mater was introduced to Rome ‘officially’); for these priest-hoods, see Beard (1990); Beard, North, and Price (1998), i, 18–30; ii, 194–209. On bodily ‘wholeness’, Gell. NA 1.12.3 (re. Vestal Virgins), Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 73 (on augurs not being permitted to watch for omens if they had a ‘sore’); see also Morgan (1974), querying the existence of a general rule that priests should have no bodily defect.
5. Borgeaud (2004); Roller (1999); Alvar (2008); Orlin (2010), 76–84, 100–7, 153–7—in striking contrast to the old paradigm embedded in Cumont (1906) and Graillot (1912), reflected in Vermaseren (1977). In what follows I shall not regularly give reference to background material that can easily be found in these treatments, new or old; I shall, however, draw attention to discussions of particular significance to my argument, or areas of divergence and disagreement.
6. The useful phrase ‘rituals in ink’ is drawn from Barchiesi (2000) and Barchiesi, Rüpke, and Stephens (2004).
7. Despite what we are often led to imagine, *Romanitas* was not a standard ancient Roman term: indeed it is more Mussolini than Cicero. It is attested in Tertullian (*De Pallio* 4).
8. Roller (1999), 263–325, is a clear example. She understandably objects to the implication in Beard (1994) that the more ‘distasteful’ aspects of the cult were connected to its foreign origin; I did not make it clear enough in that earlier paper that I saw both ‘Roman’ and ‘foreign’ as cultural constructs rather than ethnic or national categories.
9. This narrative development still underlies, for example, the account of Borgeaud (2004), 90–119.
10. As Gordon (1990), 201, rightly observes, ‘To construct a history of religion in the Roman empire is a well-nigh impossible task: there are topics but no subject, quantities of information but little sense to be made of it’; see also, with a similar warning, Scheid (1985), 117.
11. North (1976), 8–12, and Beard, North, and Price (1998), i, 61–3, discuss the role of the Sibylline books in religious innovation.
12. Wiseman (1984); Gruen (1990).
13. Livy 29.10.4–11.8; 29.14, 5–14.
14. Diod. Sic. 34.33.2.

15. Ov. *Fast.* 4.305–44. The altar is now in the Musei Capitolini, inv. 321 (illustrated, Beard, North, and Price (1998), ii, 46).
16. Herodian 1.11.4–5. *Contra* Rüpke (2008), 609; Prop. 4.11 does not imply that Propertius saw her as a Vestal.
17. e.g. Gruen (1990), 15–19; Roller (1999), 268–71; Orlin (2010), 79–80 (all pointing out that in their account of Cn. Manlius Vulso reaching Pessinus fifteen years later, neither Livy (38.18.9–10) nor Polybios (21.37.4–7) suggest that any Romans had ever been there before). Burton (1996), 56–7, reaffirms the association with Pessinus.
18. Herodian 1.11.1.
19. Borgeaud (2004), 82–6; Roller (1999), 271; Alvar (2008), 240–2.
20. Gruen (1990); Orlin (2010), 78–82. Some earlier scholars (e.g. Lambrechts (1951), 46–7) had observed that the Romans appeared to have the upper hand against Hannibal at this point; though Burton (1996) makes a case for a less optimistic mood in Rome in 205 BC than is often assumed.
21. Alvar (2008), 244–6.
22. Roller (1999), 238–59, usefully reviews the variants of the Attis myth and modern attempts to rationalize them into three different strands: the Lydian, the Phrygian, and the euhemerist.
23. Attis has been the subject of almost as much recent study as Magna Mater herself. In addition to the work cited in n. 5, see Burkert (1979), 99–122 (on the mythic narratives and near Eastern links); Lancellotti (2002); Nauta and Harder (2005) (focused on the 'Attis poem' (no. 63) of Catullus, and its background). For a brief account, see Vermaseren (1977), 88–95; more critically, and even more briefly, Bowden (2010), 102–4.
24. The original publication of this material is Romanelli (1963); the now accepted date is explained by Coarelli (1982), 39–41. For a recent review, see Roller (1999), 271–9.
25. Borgeaud (2004), 38.
26. Lane (1996); Borgeaud (2004), 80–2; Alvar (2008), 251–3.
27. Hdt. 1.34–45 (though a link between this Atys and Cybele has sometimes been assumed, it is strongly contested by Bremmer (2005). Polyb. 21.37.5 refers to the chief priests at Pessinus as 'Attis and Battakes'; and Welles (1934), 241–53, reprints the texts of letters from second-century BC Attalid kings to 'Attis', priest at Pessinus. Roller (1999) documents the use of Attis/Ates as a royal title (p. 111) and ordinary proper name (pp. 244–5).
28. So Bowden (2010), 102, who argues that the myth of Attis 'probably developed in the Hellenistic period, to provide as explanation for self-castration in the cult of the Mother'; and Roller (1999), 255–6, who refers to the 'desire of later [Classical] authors to use the myth to explain cult rituals of the Mother outside of Phrygia'.

29. The closest we come to a liturgical account is the inscribed record of the Arval Brethrens' festival of Dea Dia; but as John Scheid's detailed work shows, even here we are a long way from being able to say 'what happened' at the ceremonies (Scheid 1990; 1998).
30. This process—of creating a normative picture of institutions or rituals in antiquity, by simply adding together all the evidence and 'adjusting' for consistency—is criticized in two very different contexts by Henderson (2002), 42–8, and Mouritsen (2006), 237.
31. So one version of the ancient 'production notes' (*didascalía*) claim, though another ascribes the play to the *Ludi Romani*; see Barsby (1999), 78.
32. Key ancient texts in the jigsaw include: *CIL* I (2nd edn.), 235; *Fasti Praenestini* and *Cic. Sen. 45 (mutitationes)*; *Ov. Fast.* 4.367–8 (*moretum* — Ovid clearly refers to offerings made to the goddess, not as Borgeaud (2004), 65, claims to what was eaten by the participants); *Lucr.* 2.626 (money thrown to the goddess). Scullard (1981), 97–101, offers a clear orthodox account and further references; for scepticism, Alvar (2008), 283–4.
33. *CIL* I (2nd edn.), 260–1.
34. The clear stages of development under Claudius and Antoninus Pius were proposed by Lambrechts (1952 a and b); a 'convincing reconstruction' according to Borgeaud (2004), 91. The sharpest critique of this tidy developmental scheme is Alvar (2008), 284–92.
35. Vermaseren (1977), 113–24, offers a reasonably judicious, orthodox account.
36. Julian, *Hymn* 165B; for the funerary monument, see Beard (1998), 5–7. Fishwick (1966) attempts to unravel the history of this festival and the apparently associated priestly group of 'reed bearers'.
37. The most important of these Christian accounts (though neither is exactly tied to this particular festival day) are *Arn. Adv. nat.* 5.16 and *Firm. Mat. Err. prof. rel.* 27.1; there is a possible allusion in earlier, pagan writing (*Suet. Otho* 8). A relief sculpture from Bordeaux Vermaseren 1977, fig. 73), which depicts four men carrying a log, may—or more likely may not—be an illustration of this festival. How far the connection of Attis and the pine tree is a Roman invention, or drawn from the East, is a matter of dispute; see Bremmer (2005), 46–7.
38. *Tert. Apol.* 25.5 (precisely dated); *Lactant. Div. inst.* 1.21 (often cited in this connection, though it does not explicitly refer to this festival cycle—or this day). The idea that this was the day on which new priests castrated themselves often seems to depend on *CIL* XIII, 501 (though it does not necessarily refer to human castration); Julian, *Hymn* 168D, appears to treat the festival as anniversary of Attis' castration, while

Tertullian's use of *castrando* (Apol. 25.5) can only, in the context, refer to the mutilation of arms. Vermaseren (1977), 116, is usefully cautious.

39. Julian, *Hymn* 168D; 169D; 175A.
40. Herodian, 1.10.5–7; Fishwick (1966), 202 (arguing against any reference to the Hilaria in Herodian).
41. Alvar (2008), 291.
42. This ritual is better attested—even, if rather vaguely, in Early Imperial writers: Ov. *Fast.* 4.339–42; Mart. 3.47; Arr. *Tact.* 33.4. A Republican basin discovered in the excavations of the Palatine temple (Romanelli 1963, 303) has been taken to suggest that the washing originally took place there.
43. On the bloodless nature of traditional civic sacrifice, see Gordon (1990), 202–6.
44. A useful numbered compendium of these texts (as well as literary references) can be found in Duthoy (1969) (though his view of the chronological development of the sacrifice is controversial and probably wrong). 'Rebirth into eternity' is mentioned in no. 23; the removal of the testicles (assuming that is what *vires* are) in, e.g., no. 126; sacrifice 'for the safety of the emperor' in, e.g., nos. 35 and 126. Rutter (1968) should be read together with Duthoy (1969); but both these histories of the ritual have now been powerfully challenged by McGlynn (1996).
45. Burkert (1979), 119.
46. Confidence in Prudentius' account is expressed by e.g. Duthoy (1969), 104; Burkert (1979), 119. The reconstructed image is prominent in, e.g. Vermaseren (1977), 104.
47. Seo (2008) discusses the historicity of religious representations in the HBO series.
48. Ov. *Met.* 7.259.
49. Vermaseren (1977), 60–2; Petrikovits (1960), 129–32.
50. McGlynn (1996) is one particularly notable contribution; others (including work on Prudentius from a Christian perspective) are reviewed by Alvar (2008), 261–4. The Ostian *fossa sanguinis* is disposed of by Rieger (2004), 110–12; Schwertheim (1974), 9, dismisses the example at Neuss. Further reference to the archaeological evidence can be found in Thomas (1984), 1525. For the 'stylistic exercise', see Borgeaud (2004), 118, who also stresses (118–19) the baptismal parody.
51. Though their focus of interest is different from my own, amongst recent work on Prudentius as a poet, I have been particularly helped by Levine (1991) and Palmer (1989), who both emphasize the rhetorical sophistication of this poem and the collection as a whole.
52. Particularly ironic as the historical Romanus came from Palestine; for other accounts, see Palmer (1989), 246–8.

53. Note, for example, the role of the doctor and the description of his surgical art (ll. 886–90) and the parody of the healing process (ll. 896–900); a key word is *seco*—which can mean ‘to cut’ both as torture and surgery (it is also the word used by Juvenal for the act of castration of the *galli*; 6.515).
54. Cic. *Cat.* 1.1. For the story of Cicero’s tongue, see Dio Cass. 47.8.4.
55. Fishwick (1966) and (1967) makes a valiant, but not wholly convincing, attempt to sort out two of these groups.
56. *CIL* VI, 2265 is, far as I know, the only attestation of this group.
57. See, e.g., *CIL* VI, 496, 2258, 2260.
58. For the terms of the prohibitions, see *Dig.* 48.8.4–6.
59. See, e.g., Alvar (2008), 274: ‘Everyone accepts that, whereas the ordinary *galli* had to geld themselves, the *archigalli* as civic priests, must have been exempt from such a requirement, since among them are found full Roman citizens to whom such practices were forbidden’ (though in the footnote he admits that ‘this is not a very strong argument . . . since it assumes that such laws were intended to be enforced’. And it also conflicts with the assertion of Servius (*Ad Aen.* 9.115) that the castrated *cultores* of Magna Mater ‘were called *archigalli*’. Borgeaud (2004), 93, is an (over-)confident recent account of the institution of the archigallate in the second century AD, with reference to previous studies. I suspect that *galli* and *archigalli* will remain inextricable (though it is worth noting that *archigalli* dominate the epigraphic record).
60. Among recent authors, Borgeaud (2004), 43, asserts ‘complete castration, ablation of both penis and testicles’; Alvar (2008), 247–8, is characteristically more sceptical (‘This seems to me highly unlikely’).
61. ‘*Samia testa*’ as Mart. 3.8 (see p. 344 and n. 65) has it.
62. In addition to Alvar’s brutally frank discussion of the dangers (2008), 247–8, ancient literature gives us a glimpse of the risks. The emperor Justinian (AD 527–65) noted in a legal ruling that on one occasion eighty-seven boys died out of a group of ninety who had undergone castration (*Nov.* 142).
63. To cite just a few examples: Lucr. 2.610–28; Ov. *Fast.* 4.179–88; Sen. *De Vita Beata* 26.8.
64. Intercourse is normally possible for those men who are castrated as adults—in contrast to those castrated before puberty. For further discussion of the physical effects of eunuchism, see Hopkins (1978), 193–4.
65. Mart. 3.81: ‘Quid cum femineo tibi, Baetice Galle, barathro? / haec debet medios lambere lingua viros. / abscisa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa, / si tibi tam gratus, Baetice. cunnus erat? / castrandum caput est: nam sis licet inguine Gallus, / sacra tamen Cybeles decipis: ore vir es.’ I am grateful to (the much missed) Simon Pembroke for this—reluctant, he assured me—translation of the epigram.

66. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.
67. Gordon (1990), 219–31.
68. Above, n. 58.
69. Val. Max. 7.6.
70. Vermaseren (1977), 96.
71. Scullard (1981), 98–9.
72. Mart. 3.34; 13.63–4; Isid. *Etym.* 12.7.50.
73. See Beard (1998), 5–7.
74. Blänsdorf (2010).
75. Blänsdorf (2010), 183–5.
76. Blänsdorf (2010), 180–3.
77. Herodian 1.11.1.
78. Above, n. 44.
79. These claims are inevitably tentative, but see Luc. 1.599–600; Julian, *Hymn* 168C.
80. Borgeaud (2004) argues for the duality of the cult throughout its history.
81. Indeed I have played my part in making it a cliché (as in Beard, North, and Price (1998), i, 359: 'the opposition between religion and politics is an inappropriate model for thinking about Roman religion').

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